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PREFACE

We beg to lay before the public the following pages which contain a brief sketch of the life and career of late Pandit Motilal Nehru, one of the greatest of our leaders, whose death at this crisis of our national life has plunged the whole of India in the deepest mourning. This book contains further a full account of the last scenes, the funeral procession and the last rites, Panditji's Presidential address at the Calcutta Congress, held in 1928, and tributes from leading men, and appreciations in the press that have appeared on the occasion of his death. It also contains the full text of the constitution for India drafted in the Nehru Report. The book is also profusely illustrated on art paper and our heart felt thanks are due to the "Ananda Bazar Patrika" for having supplied us with blocks for the purpose. We have taken pains carefully to compile and edit the following pages from the various papers and publications which contained notices of our departed leader, to all of whom we hereby acknowledge our obligation and indebtedness.

We also thank our esteemed friend Prof. Devaprasad Ghosh, M. A., B.L. the distinguished scholar and public man for having kindly written a foreword to this publication.

We can only hope that this attempt of ours to supply in a handy form a brief account of the life and work of Pandit Motilal will meet with encouraging response at the hands of our countrymen.

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10, College Square,
Calcutta.

UPENDRA CH. BHATTACHARYA,
SREVENI SUNDAR CHAKRAVARTY

ascetic and almost mediæval outlook on life and affairs and ultimately his most stalwart lieutenant—these are the remarkable contraries that make up the wonderful career of this prince among men. And whosoever would understand Pandit Motilal must solve this riddle and get down to the inner soul of the man which harmonized this manifold variety.

As to the reactions on our public life—the disastrous reactions—of his death at this precise moment, in the very crisis of India's struggle for freedom, it were idle to expatiate. I think there is only other death equally tragic, equally untimely—and the death of one equally distinguished, equally the idol of India's millions—I mean the death of Lokamanya Tilak, which is comparable in its consequences. The death of Bal Gangadhar Tilak in August, 1920, just when the new Constitutional Reforms were impending, and on the very eve of the non-co-operation movement, was a disaster whose magnitude it were difficult to fathom even now. But for Lokamanya's disappearance from the arena of Indian politics at that critical hour, India's history for the past ten years might have been differently written. And now, to-day in 1931, when India stands at the threshold of a new chapter of her destiny and requires the unstinted services of her ablest sons in giving shape and form to that chapter, disappears Pandit Motilal Nehru—the one man who by virtue of his wide knowledge of men and affairs, his political sagacity, his ardent patriotism, and the supreme position in which he was held by his countrymen, might have been expected to be able to shape that chapter after India's aspirations.

FOREWORD

The death of Pandit Motilal Nehru has removed from our midst a towering personality. Though his active participation in public life dates from a comparatively recent period, yet during this short dozen years or so he succeeded in creating for himself a unique position. In this meteoric rise to the supreme leadership of the affairs of the nation, the only parallel in recent years has been Deshabandhu Das, whose sudden demise the nation had to mourn barely six years ago.

What is most remarkable about Pandit Motilal's career and personality is the curious amalgam of contraries that has characterised them. By training and temperament a most level-headed man, a confirmed moderate in politics till well past his middle age, yet in the closing years of his career almost an inflexible revolutionary—an aristocrat to his finger-tips, an aristocrat in the best sense of the word, in family traditions, in culture, in character, yet the undisputed and universally beloved leader of the most democratic mass-movement in India's history—an intellectual sceptic, a brilliant lawyer, a successful man of the world, essentially modern in outlook, with a keen appreciation and thorough enjoyment of the good things of this world, yet in the evening of his life a most ardent disciple of Mahatma Gandhi with his rigorously

Inscrutable are the ways of Providence, and it were idle for mere man to question or carp or complain. Our only consolation lies in the thought that He alone knows what is best for us ; and our only prayer can be

"THY WILL BE DONE."

February 8, 1931. }
Calcutta.

DEVAPRASAD GHOSH.

CHAPTER I

LIFE AND CAREER

Birth and Early Life

Seventy years ago, on May 6, 1861, Pandit Motilal Nehru was born at Delhi. He was the son of Pandit Gangadhar Nehru who had been a Kotwal and died before Panditji was born. Panditji's forefathers migrated from Kashmir to British India. The Kashmiri Brahman community to which Panditji belonged numbered about 5,000 in British India, as Panditji said on the floor of the Assembly during the Sarda Bill debate. Panditji was brought up under the loving care of his brother Pandit Nandalal Nehru, who had been at that time practising as a Vakil at Delhi.

Motilal was educated in the Muhammadan Makhtabs till the age of twelve and acquired a good working knowledge of Persian and Arabic. Afterwards he joined the Government High School at Cawnpur and passed the Entrance Examination in the first division. At the Muir Central College, Allahabad, where he underwent his collegiate course, he was a favourite student of that eminent educationist, Principal Harrison; and among his fellow-students at College were Sir Sundar Lal and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Pandit Nehru, however, did not

appear for the B. A. Examination, having already chosen Law as his profession and in a short period of three months which he devoted to the study of Law he attained efficiency enough to appear for the High Court Examination and to top the list of the successful candidates.

Marriage

He married in the year 1882 Srijukta Swarup Rani Devi. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru is their only son and daughters are Mrs. Bijoy Lakshmi Pandit and Miss Krishna Nehru.

As Leader of the Bar

In 1883 Pandit Nehru began his practice as a Vakil at Cawnpore where, within the short period of three years, he built up a good name and secured a wide 'clientele'. Among the friends that he made at that station was Pandit Prithvi Nath, a leading Vakil who had very great admiration for the ambitious young man. Partly under his advice, partly dissatisfied with remaining a mere local success at Cawnpore, Motilal joined the High Court Bar at Allahabad where, easily within five or six years, he reached a prominent place; the High Court enrolled him soon after as an Advocate and for long years he continued as one of the veteran lawyers of Northern India; appearing in almost every famous and costly litigation till he left, at the call of Non-Co-operation, his high place of leadership at the Bar to serve his country. As a lawyer, Pandit Motilal was famous for the strength and directness of his advocacy; and as the champion of the people's cause he had, even before he had joined

the Non-Co-operation movement, built himself a name. The courage with which he fought for the freedom of the Press and liberty of speech, undeterred by the frowns of office and uninfluenced by the admonitions of office-seekers, had already marked him out as the leader of his Province in all matters that concerned the people's good.

Political Career

Panditji entered active politics rather late in life. He presided over the U. P. Provincial Conference in 1907 but he did not come into much prominence outside his province. Before the Home Rule movement he was a member of the U. P. Legislative Council. On account of his commanding position at the Bar Panditji very soon came to the forefront in the Home Rule movement, which also drew into active politics another great leader of the Bar, the late Mr. C. R. Das. These two great sons of India joined hands in combating the timid policy of the moderates and contributed greatly to the rescue of the Indian National Congress from the inept hands into which it had fallen since the break-up of the Surat Congress in 1907. The friendship which grew up in those days between these two illustrious sons of India lasted till the younger one was cut off by the cruel hand of Death in the prime of his life.

Pandit Motilal's political career may be said to fall into two chapters. Early in life he became a Congressman and began to take an active interest in politics, and in 1907, as already mentioned, he was called upon to preside over the first Provincial Con-

ference of the United Provinces held at Allahabad. And since then every year has added to the solid political work done by him. For, like most of the intellectual leaders of his generation, he felt it one of his first duties as an Indian to work for the political uplift of his country.

On Home Rule Agitation

But the vast possibilities of the man were revealed only when the Home Rule agitation of 1917 was begun and the Government, adopting an ineffective policy of repression, began to arrest the leaders of the movement. Pandit Motilal was at that time more of a Moderate than of an Extremist in temperament and he had been for some time a director of the *Leader*, a Moderate newspaper published at Allahabad. But the repressive policy adopted by the Government forced him, as it forced several others, to join the Home Rule movement and work indefatigably for that cause. As a result of this change he was elected President of the Special Provincial Conference. The address he delivered on that occasion is memorable as one of the finest indictments of the policy and programme of repression carried out by the Government. The *Pioneer*, enraged at the boldness of the address, conferred on him the title of "Brigadier-General of the Home Rule League."

As a Journalist

It was about this time that he withdrew himself from the directorate of the *Leader* and became the Chairman of the Board of Directors owning the new nationalist daily, the *Independent*. The mission of

the new paper was admirably set out by him in an early issue.

Two ideals rule the world. Two realities strive for mastery. The ideal and reality of Spartacus, the reality and ideal of Epictetus. The one breaks his chains and the other bares his soul.

The *Independent* has come into existence to lay bare the soul of a nation, of a people ripening into nationhood, of communities merging into a people, of individuals growing into a community. How shall it approach its noble work? Or better still how not?

Not along the facile line of opportunism, the fatal line of least resistance which stifles the soul and perverts the mind. Not by methods of cabal, camera and camarilla which bring no lasting good and help and only distort the outlook.

But by bringing the fierce light of day to play on dark spots wherever they exist. By giving expression to the plain expressions of the plain mind in plain language. By striving to press home the eternal truth that while on the one hand natural rights of mankind cannot be withheld to be doled out in little bits with a consciousness of high-minded generosity and a benignly benevolent purpose, those rights can not on the other hand thrive in an atmosphere of religious cleavage and racial antagonism.

Thus alone can the *Independent* fulfil its mission and join President Wilson in saying: "The select classes of mankind are no longer the

governors of mankind. The fortunes of mankind are now in the hands of the plain people of the whole world.

In conducting the *Independent*, Pandit Motilal had to incur considerable financial loss and he did it willingly as he was conscious how necessary such a paper was for the education and progress of his country towards the goal of self-government.

The Montford Reforms

The Home Rule agitation subsided soon after and the storm that swept over the country was succeeded by a lull in the movement caused by the famous announcement of Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India declaring the intention of the Imperial Government to take a substantial step towards the realization of responsible Government in India. Men like Dr. Sapru, Mr. Chintamani and Mr. Surendranath Banerjea became immediately converted into staunch supporters of the promised reforms. Mrs. Besant, who was released from internment, became likewise a strong advocate of the Montford reforms. Pandit Motilal Nehru would in these circumstances have been left severely alone to nurse in secret his own discontent at the tardy progress of India towards Home Rule but for the unfortunate events that happened in the Punjab which brought him again into the forefront as a leader of the people. And from the days of the Punjab wrongs commences the second period of his political life which far surpassed the achievements of his early days. This does not mean that till 1919, when Non-Co-operation brought his full

greatness into the public view he had done little work as a politician. In fact, even if we could possibly ignore all the noble work that he has done since 1919 his past record remains something which any Indian might reasonably be proud of. He had been President of the United Provinces Congress Committee for seven years. He had been the President of the first Provincial Conference.

Panditji as Councillor

Since the inauguration of the Morley-Minto reforms he had been a member of the United Provinces Legislative Council. In the Council Chamber as well as in the several Committees in which he acted, he had been a severe critic of the administration. He always adopted an uncompromising attitude, once he was convinced of the correctness of his position, undeterred alike by public censure and official disfavour. Illustrative instances of his attitude can be here given. When the Jehangirabad Amendment relating to communal representation came up for discussion before the Council, he boldly spoke out his mind although the Opposition included such names as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and although the Press and the public in one accord were loud against him. He was convinced of the supreme need of effecting the reconciliation of the Muhammadan with the Hindu so that both might feel that they were Indians first and Hindus or Muhammadans only afterwards. Indeed, it was his noble and generous attitude in the matter of the Muslim demand for separate and even proportionately excessive representation in the government of the country that

served to bring about the cessation of the frequent Hindu-Muslim feuds and paved the way for the happy rapprochement between the two parties that now prevails in the United Provinces.

Another incident that showed the man's mettle happened in the October Session of the U. P. Legislative Council in 1917. Sir James Meston (as he then was) presided. The Pandit moved a resolution conveying to the Government the censure of the House regarding the conduct of Principal Wood of the Roorkee College in indulging in unwarranted aspersions on the character of Indians and he made a short speech on the occasion. The official Secretary referred to a letter of regret from Mr. Wood which, however, was not satisfactory as an apology. A debate thereupon ensued and Sir James Meston in the end hastily wound up the proceedings and put the resolution to vote without giving the Panditji an opportunity to have his final word in reply. Nehru's appeal to the President was in vain. When he realised that his rights were thus overlooked, the Pandit got up, told the President that he could not remain in the House and see his fundamental rights as a member thereof trampled under foot and left the Council Hall forthwith. And it taxed all the diplomatic skill of the Governor as well as the friendly persuasions of Sir Sundar Lal (one of his staunch friends since their days at the Muir Central College) to prevail upon him to return to the Council.

The "Black Bills"

The second chapter in Pandit Motilal Nehru's

political life may be said to have begun in 1919, with the introduction in the Imperial Legislative Council of what are popularly known as the "Black Bills." Both in the public meetings over which he presided and later on in the Council itself he vehemently opposed their passage.

But a full knowledge of what happened in the Punjab afterwards and of the attitude of the British people towards the Punjab incident shook his strong faith in the British people.

Punjab wrong and Amritsar Congress

In the course of his Presidential address at the Congress meeting at Amritsar on December 27, 1919, he earnestly referred to the occurrences in the Punjab. His subsequent services in the investigations carried on by the Congress Committee to ascertain the truth about the Punjab incidents are well-known. Without caring in the least for his princely income at the Bar he eagerly responded to the call of duty and worked day and night gathering and sifting evidence and touring from place to place in order to learn the truth at first hand. It is this face-to-face direct contact with the stern truth and the grim realities about the administration in the Punjab that set a sombre colouring to his life as it did to the life of his co-worker—Chittaranjan Das. It was this knowledge that shook his faith in the British Empire, perhaps more even than the Khilafat wrongs. In his Presidential address we find his views largely affected by the gloomy aspect of the Punjab trouble though at that time the investigations had not been concluded.

"The struggle for Swaraj"

From the President Nehru of this address, advising the country to work the Reform Act however unsatisfactory it might be, to the Non-Co-operator that he was later on it was but one step. And that step was the realising of the significance of the Punjab wrongs and the proof (if proof were wanted) furnished by the Dyer debate of the fact that there had been no change of heart on the part of the rulers. It was a rude shock that came to the members of the Congress Inquiry Committee when even their very modest and minimum demands were not met by the Government. From the first Mahatma Gandhi had sure supporters of his movement in Pandit Motilal Nehru and in Chittaranjan Das. In fact, as soon as the movement started, the Pandit began to lead his Province on the path of Non-Co-operation. His admirable little pamphlet "The struggle for Swaraj" may be said to form part of the Non-co-operator's Gospel. That pamphlet was issued soon after the Nagpur Congress.

The Pandit's Sacrifice

The sacrifices that Panditji had made for the sake of Non-Co-operation are alone sufficient to place him high in the esteem of his countrymen, apart from any valuation of the actual services he had rendered to the cause. Everybody had heard of the princely style in which he was living at his palatial mansion at Allahabad. Everybody who has been his guest at the "Anand Bhawan" would confirm this. He moved on terms of intimacy with the Lieutenant-Governor and and with the members of the Provincial Government

and he was their honoured friend and constant adviser. The richness and luxury of his life at Allahabad during those days attracted universal notice. We are told that he had his dress washed from Paris by every mail and he was the leader of fashion in Allahabad. All these were gone when he joined the Non-Cooperation movement. No exodus to the hills during the summer now, no dress after the latest fashion in Paris. All his attire was pure homely "Khaddar."

His First Arrest and Imprisonment

On the 6th December, 1921, Pandit Motilal, with his only son and two nephews together with several others, was arrested on a charge of signing the pledge of the Congress volunteers.

Thanks to Panditji's efforts, in the United Province there was perfect non-violence during the Prince of Wales's visit to Lucknow and Allahabad. Whatever one may think of this particular programme of boycotting the Prince, the Pandit spared no pains to popularise the movement. He carried on an aggressive agitation. On the day of the Prince's arrival the streets were deserted and wore a mournful look.

The following is the account he gave of his arrest in his speech at Allahabad on June 12, 1922:

A few days before the Prince's visit, I received an extraordinary communication from the District Magistrate of Allahabad. It was accompanied with all the dignity and paraphernalia of magisterial authority. We had been in the habit of corresponding with one another in the usual manner and our letters were sent

through the usual messengers, but on this occasion an open letter was brought by a police sub-inspector in which I was called upon to make certain dispositions of my own grounds such as the closing of the gate at a particular time, the admission of visitors, etc. I told the Magistrate, in reply, that he had no authority to interfere with the use of my own property in any way I chose, so long as such use was lawful and proper, but assured him that as a Non-co-operator it was my duty to see that no harm befell His Royal Highness and that no disrespect was offered to him during his visit to Allahabad. For this assurance I was rewarded by being arrested with my son and nephews and a number of other co-workers a couple of days later. The Prince came in due course and you gave appropriate response by observing the greatest of all 'hartals' in India in connection with the visit.

On December 4, 1921, Pandits Mohan Lal Nehru and Shyam Lal Nehru were sentenced by Mr. Knox, District Magistrate, each to six months' simple imprisonment and one hundred rupees fine, in default one month's simple imprisonment in addition. Pandit Motilal Nehru, when his turn came for examination, refused to answer any question. He refused to plead, saying that he was not before a court but before the agent of the bureaucracy which was his country's enemy. And he, too, was sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment.

Panditji took the sentence with a light heart. In

fact, he felt as if the hallmark of recognition as a leader had been conferred upon him by the Government. His only son Jawaharlal Nehru was also arrested on the same day and sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment.

What was even more surprising than his brave acceptance of the rigours and hardships of the new life in prison, was the way he and the members of his family threw themselves heart and soul into the movement. His son Jawaharlal, brought up on the lap of luxury, courted imprisonment with all the fervour of faith.

Though Jawaharlal was released before the expiry of his term of six months on March 3, 1922, he was again arrested under Sections 124A and 506 of the Indian Penal Code on May 11 in the District Jail of Lucknow where he had gone on a visit to his father Pandit Motilal.

Imprisonment could in no way affect the convictions of men determined to suffer for a cause. Soon after the arrest of Motilal a move was made by Government and the leaders to bring about a round-table conference with a view to effect some compromise. Motilal and Das were in prison and with them a great host of popular leaders. Lest Mr. Gandhi, overcome by the sufferings of his devoted colleagues in jail, should give way, Pandit Motilal resolutely stood by the original demands. Indifferent to his own sufferings and those of his other colleagues he wrote to Mahatma Gandhi from the Lucknow Jail in unequivocal terms urging that their sufferings should in no way disturb the leaders' insistence on a just settlement.

Significance of Leadership

The full significance of the Pandit Nehru's leadership of the Non-Co-operation movement in his Province was revealed only by his arrest. Nobody could be found who could fill his place adequately. Rumours of his release from prison before the expiry of his period were therefore welcomed by the anxious public. Moreover, his health caused some anxiety. He had been for a long time suffering from asthma and after the middle of February he got worse. At his request the jail authorities permitted him to place himself under the treatment of his fellow prisoners, Dr. Murarilal and Dr. Jawaharlal. But before the course of vaccine treatment that he was undergoing was over, the Panditji was transferred from Lucknow to Naini Tal jail, the official reason being "considerations of health." The Pandit felt the reason to be only a cloak for some official whim; probably the authorities did not like his son (who had just been arrested) to remain in the same jail with him. And his spirited letter of protest to the Superintendent of the Jail seems to have received no consideration at official hands.

When, by a strict and literal adherence to the jail rules, Pandit Motilal was prevented from seeing his son in the Lucknow Jail on June 10th (soon after he was released at Naini Tal), the cruelty of separating the father from the son in jail life was all the more felt.

Release and subsequent activity

But Pandit Motilal was not to be daunted by physical

or family suffering from the vigorous pursuit of his cause. Anticipating his release, a place on the All-India Congress Committee was reserved for him. He assumed the Secretaryship of the Congress and the office was transferred from Ahmedabad to Allahabad in consequence of his taking up the work. The Working Committee welcomed him and readily submitted to his leadership. He was elected to preside over the District Political Conference at Khurja. Pending the Conference Panditji was not idle. Since his release from the Naini Tal Jail on the evening of the 6th June he had been on a lecturing tour. His gaol life had not in the least affected his optimism and he was now surer than ever that in this struggle for Swaraj victory was at hand for the people.

The Khaddar Programme

He insisted on the constructive side of the Non-Cooperation programme viz., the universalising of 'Khaddar.'

In fact long before the Khaddar movement began he was a firm advocate of Swadeshi and the development of home industries, of which weaving and spinning were one. Again and again he emphasised the necessity of monied men coming forward and utilising the raw materials of Indian production and the services of Indian labour.

Council Entry and Swaraj Party

When he came out of jail the Non-Cooperation movement was on the wane, Mahatmaji himself crying a halt to it at Bardoli. A need for a change of

policy was felt and under Panditji's chairmanship a Committee was appointed to inquire into the Civil Disobedience programme. It recommended the postponement of the Civil Disobedience programme and suggested capture of Councils with the idea of carrying on the policy of obstruction. At the Gaya Congress held under the presidency of the late Deshabandhu C. R. Das, Pandit Motilal moved the Council entry resolution but it was defeated. But Deshabandhu, Pandit Motilal and others disagreed with the verdict of the Congress and formed the famous Swaraj Party, Deshabandhu being its President and Panditji its Secretary. The year 1923 saw the recognition by the Congress of the party advocating Council entry. The no-changers resisted the new party bitterly everywhere but the party under the leadership of Messrs. Das and Nehru overbore all opposition.

Panditji set an example when, being an ex-President of the Indian National Congress, he accepted the post of General Secretary on account of the momentous issues hanging before the country.

The Special Congress at Delhi lifted the ban on Council entry. After the Session of the Congress, Deshabandhu Das and Pandit Motilal carried out an intensive Swaraj Campaign in North India. In October a manifesto was issued and elaborate preparation was made for fighting the election. Considering the short time within which elections took place, Swarajists won considerable success at the polls. Pandit Motilal Nehru became the leader of the opposition in the Assembly—a position which he held till he resigned from the Assembly in pursuance of the

mandate of the Lahore Congress. The Swarajists under the leadership of Pandit Motilal inflicted defeat after defeat on the Government in the Assembly.

During the year Mahatma Gandhi was released from jail and at Juhu where he had gone to recoup his health, he accepted the compromise with Deshbandhu Das, Pandit Motilal and Swaraj leaders and desired that the country should give a free hand to the Swarajists. The Belgaum Congress under the presidency of Mahatmaji ratified the agreement.

Panditji who earlier was associated with the starting of the *Independent*, a daily at Allahabad which had a short but brilliant career, joined the Board of Directors of *Forward*, when Deshbandhu C. R. Das brought out the paper, which within a short time of its appearance came to occupy the foremost place in the field of journalism.

Death of Deshabandhu Das

In June 1925 Deshbandhu passed away at the zenith of his career. At his death Pandit Motilal succeeded him as the leader of the great party they had formed.

National Demand

In September 1925 Panditji put forward in the Assembly the famous national demand. In the opinion of many it was a modest enough demand, but the Government made it clear that they were not going to accept it. A Special Committee appointed by the Congress at Cawnpur interpreted the Viceroy's inaugural address and certain statements of the Home Member in the Assembly and the Council of

State to imply refusal to concede the national demand. The A. I. C. C. therefore in March called upon the Swarajist members to withdraw from the various legislatures.

Swarajist Walk-out

On 8th March 1926 Pandit Motilal Nehru made a statement in the Assembly in which he claimed that the Swarajists had co-operated with the Government of India and had helped to work the reforms for two and half years and in return had received nothing but humiliation. After the statement Panditji with the whole of the Swaraj Party walked out of the Legislative Assembly. This action was followed in the Council of State and in the U. P. and Bengal Councils. The Responsivists who had already unfurled the flag of rebellion against the Congress under their leader, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, strongly objected to the move and thenceforth left the Swaraj Party altogether.

Communal Squabbles

During the time the very foundations of nationalism were being shaken by serious and organised communal riots, principally in Bengal. Feelings ran high and even leaders who had played a great part in the nationalist movement forgot in their communal zeal that they had ever worked together for the common weal. The communal organisations gained in importance. The right of playing music before mosques acquired precedence over even the most elementary rights of a subject in a civilised State. A few names stand prominently out of the filth of communalism that was sullyng this unfortunate

country and they should be written in letters of gold in the nation's memory. Of these names that of Pandit Motilal Nehru stands out most prominently : he never for a moment forgot, and was never afraid to declare, that the interest of India stood first and everything else afterwards.

Simon Commission

On 8th November 1927 the Viceroy made his announcement on the Reforms Commission. The decision to exclude Indians from the Commission united the whole of India in a moment to boycott the Commission, even Moderate leaders joining hands. Pandit Motilal Nehru on behalf of the Congress wrote to Mr. George Lansbury asking the Labour Party to withdraw their members from the Commission, saying that nothing short of full responsible government would satisfy the Congress. But Mr. MacDonald, the Labour Leader, decided not to withdraw the Labour members if equal powers were given to the Indian Committee. A vast majority of leaders of various schools of political thought were brought on a common platform by the boycott movement against the Simon Commission. The A. I. C. C. called on the Working Committee to frame a constitution in consultation with the leaders of other political sections. The Committee presided over by Pandit Motilal Nehru drew up a constitution for India, complete in details and submitted what is known as the "Nehru Report."

Calcutta Congress

In view of the momentous crisis facing the country,

Pandit Motilal Nehru was again called upon to preside over the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta, in December 1928. The Calcutta Congress considered the Nehru Report and decided to accept Dominion Status as formulated by the report if granted immediately; otherwise the country was to revert to the ideal of Complete Independence as adopted by the Madras Congress a year before. One year's time was given, within which time Dominion Status was to be granted.

Viceroy's Declaration

In November 1929 the Viceroy made a declaration stating that the goal of India was 'Dominion Status' and there would be as much transference of power to the people as was practicable. On the eve of the Lahore Congress Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru were called at an interview with the Viceroy in which they took up the stand that Congress could join in the R. T. Conference only on condition that Dominion Status should be the declared objective of the Conference, which would meet only to consider the details as to how to grant it. The Viceroy failed to accept those terms and the conference broke down.

Lahore Congress

The Lahore Congress, where the father handed over charge to the son, decided that no satisfactory gesture was made by the British Government to meet the Indian demands and henceforth it scrapped the Nehru Report; and with it went down Dominion Status, and Congress adopted the goal of "Independence."

Civil Disobedience

Following the resolutions of the Lahore Congress, Pandit Motilal with his group in the Legislative Assembly, withdrew from the legislatures and devoted his energy whole-heartedly to the campaign of civil disobedience launched by Mahatma Gandhi.

Gift of Ananda Bhawan

During the progress of the movement, Pandit Motilal made the largest contribution that has ever been made to the Indian National Congress. He dedicated his palatial residence at Allahabad known as the Anand Bhawan to the cause of the nation. The house was made over to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Congress, by a deed of gift for the purpose of holding the office of the Working Committee of the Congress.

Imprisonment of Jawaharlal

On the arrest and imprisonment of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress, in May 1930, Pandit Motilal Nehru was nominated by Pandit Jawaharlal to succeed him as President of the Congress until he was released. He had accepted the offer and was carrying on this onerous duty with unprecedented zeal even in his advanced old age. But he was soon arrested and sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment and sent to the Naini Central Jail where Pandit Jawaharlal was kept.

Sapru-Jayakar Negotiations

During this time Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr.

M. R. Jayakar, anxious to bring about a settlement of the problems that were still agitating the people of India, wrote a letter to His Excellency the Viceroy asking permission to carry on negotiations with Mahatma Gandhi, who was then interned at the Yerwada Jail with a view to explore possibilities of settlement. Consultation with Pandit Motilal having been considered essential by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal along with Pandit Jawaharlal was brought from Naini Jail to the Yerwada Jail, where the peace pourparlers were held. The pourparlers, however, ultimately led to no settlement.

Last Illness and Death

He had been suffering from various complications due to the rigours of jail life and partly to the strain he had undergone on account of the heavy burden of the Congress ; and on account of his ill-health he was released from jail. Immediately after release he went over to Mussoorie for a change and better treatment. At Mussoorie he made a slight improvement. But this was only for a short time, and his condition again becoming worse he returned to Allahabad. At Allahabad he was constantly ailing from complications of the lungs and liver and spitting blood and on expert medical advice he was brought to Calcutta for X-ray examination by the middle of November.

In Calcutta he was placed under efficient physicians like Dr. Sir Nilratan Sarkar, Dr. A. C. Ukil and others; but no permanent improvement could be made.

He was subsequently placed under the treatment of Kabiraj Syamadas Vachaspati and was removed

to Dakhineswar in view of the pure air of the Ganges.

About this time. Sreemati Kamala Nehru, wife of Pandit Jawaharlal, was arrested. Deeply concerned at the news, Pandit Motilal hastened home.

At Allahabad his condition became gradually worse; one day, his condition was critical for twenty-four hours. Immediately after this incident he was, under medical advice, taken to Lucknow for X-ray examination on the 4th February last.

According to Dr. B.C. Roy, Pandit bore the journey from Allahabad to Lucknow very well. But the doctors noticed a change for the worse in the condition of Panditji on the afternoon of the 5th February. He could not, therefore, be removed to the hospital for X-Ray examination. There was some difficulty in breathing; later the patient had a suffocating sensation, and the swelling in the face and other parts of the body, which had been reported a few days earlier, increased visibly.

Doctors and nurses kept a close watch during the night. Towards midnight the patient's condition became grave, and thereafter it was one continuous struggle between life and death. The doctors did everything that was possible within the range of human ingenuity and medical skill, but they soon recognised that it was an uneven struggle, and that the patient was sinking rapidly. All leaders and relatives were summoned to the bedside, but unfortunately the distinguished sufferer could not express his feelings, being unable to speak. After a little while he lost consciousness and by 4 o'clock in the morning it was apparent to the doctors

and others, that there was no hope. At about 6-30 the valiant fighter for India's freedom shook off his mortal coil in the presence of all his dear and near ones.

An Ideal Gentleman

Pandit Motilal was an ideal gentleman. He had almost no enemies. His generosity and liberal-mindedness were well known. He was a great social reformer, and, unlike the ordinary men of that class, he had the courage of his convictions. Very early in his life he defied the orthodoxy of his near relatives by dining openly with his teacher, Principal Harrison. He was the first man of his community to break the custom of *purdah*. He refused to undergo the usual ceremony of *Prayaschittam* on his return from England in 1899. His two daughters were given education in Hindi, and later on they were sent to England for education. He was an ardent champion of female education, and he moved the resolution recommending the removal of the disabilities of sex and a grant of franchise to women on an equal basis with men in the Special Congress at Bombay (in 1918). As an exponent of female education, he served on the Pigott Committee appointed by the Government of the United Provinces some years ago. His liberal views on social reform were clear from the addresses he delivered as President of the Provincial Social Conference at Agra and of the All-India Patel Marriage Bill Conference at Delhi. The great influence that his personality exercised in his household is seen from the readiness with which his only

son Jawaharlal and his two nephews came forward to work for the cause.

But Pandit Motilal himself became so completely influenced by Mahatma Gandhi and his teachings that one wonders at the enormous change that had come over him. And none was more cognisant of it than he himself. For he recognised the potency of the new life as of supreme importance in his career.

His views on life and his habits had also completely changed, and a resurrection was wrought in him.

Pandit Nehru was by temperament highly optimistic. Life in gaol did not sour his outlook. It was this optimism and his zeal for the cause that cheered him up at his advanced age to go from place to place and lecture almost every day on behalf of the national movement. The story of his sacrifice at the call of Non-Co-operation would read like a romance if the full details were known, but even more impressive was the way in which he had merged his own masterful personality in the movement.

I say to Government: "You may continue the present system as long as you think you can. Though Nemesis will be slow in overtaking you, it will overtake you all the same."

Pandit Motilal Nehru.

CHAPTER II.

AFTER DEATH :

LAST SCENES AND FUNERAL RITES AND CEREMONIES.

A Stunning Blow

The news of his death spread quickly, and thousands of people rushed towards Kalakankar House to have a last look at their departed leader. There was such a rush of visitors that the body had to be brought out of the room and shown to the assembled crowd to make it disperse in order to accommodate a fresh one. All traffic beyond Gumti Bridge was blocked throughout the morning.

Scenes unprecedented in its annals were witnessed in the morning at Lucknow when the last remains of Pandit Motilal Nehru were being taken to Allahabad. Since early morning the sad news had spread to all parts of the city and its suburbs like wild-fire and the entire population, visibly afflicted by the stunning blow, rushed out of their hearths and homes for the common destination, viz. the Kalakankar Palace. Long before the necessary arrangements for removal of the earthly remains of the departed leader were complete, the entire area around the Palace was converted into a vast sea of human heads, all eager to catch a last glimpse of the beloved patriarch of the Nation.

The rush was tremendous, but every member of the

huge crowd seemed to respect the solemnity of the occasion, with the result that noise and disorder were reduced to a minimum. By 11 o'clock, at the signal that Panditji's body would be brought out and a start would be made for Allahabad, the huge concourse at once went mad as it were and kept continually shouting '*Jais'* to the illustrious deceased. Indeed, the deep pathos that marked the behaviour of the crowd was something unique and beggars description.

Mahatmaji as Pall-Bearer

Just at 11 a. m. Panditji's mortal remains, covered with tri-coloured Khaddar, was taken out, shouldered by Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy and Pandit Jāwaharlāl Nehru amidst pin-drop silence, the vast crowd almost to a man bursting out into sobs and tears for the great leader. The body was placed in a car specially decorated with National Flags and flowers.

A little later Srijukta Swaruprani Devi was seen conducted to another car by Mahatamaji and Miraben. The most noticeable feature throughout was the calm serenity which was transparent in Pandit Jawaharlāl's face.

Departure for Allahabad

The remains of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, placed on a motor car covered with huge national flags and with a flag flying on it, reached the Curzon Bridge, Allahabad, at about 4 o'clock in the evening. Pandit Jawaharlāl Nehru and Mr. R. S. Pandit were seated in the car. Mahatma Gandhi and others followed. A large number of people had

assembled at the bridge end and offered flowers. There was a concourse of people, and a large number of cars with people from Lucknow and other places.

Last Scenes at Ananda Bhawan

By the time the car reached Ananda Bhawan the crowd had swelled to nearly a lakh of people, and it is reported several received slight injuries in the severe crush.

The grounds of Ananda Bhawan were then a sea of human heads, all leading residents of Allahabad, officials and non-officials being present.

The Funeral Procession

Never in the history of Allahabad has a funeral procession of such impressive and gigantic proportions been witnessed as followed the body of Pandit Motilal Nehru. As soon as the body arrived in a car thousands of people, including some of the most respected citizens of Allahabad, Judges of the High Court, lawyers, politicians and others thronged Anand Bhawan. A procession was formed, and the body was taken towards the *Prayag-Sangam*.

The procession passed Arthur Bridge and other big thoroughfares till it reached *Tribeni* where the gathering swelled to over a lakh and a quarter. Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Babu Purshottam Das Tandon, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Shiva Prasad Gupta and other leaders with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru accompanied the funeral procession.

Last Rites

Almost 12 hours after his death. at 6-30 p. m., the

body of Pandit Motilal was placed on the funeral pyre made of maunds of sandal wood on the sacred bank of the three rivers in the presence of an immense concourse of his sorrowing countrymen.

Funeral Orations

After the funeral ceremony was over Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya addressed the audience. As the Mahatma rose to speak there was pin-drop silence. In moving and feeling terms he referred to the services of Pandit Motilal to the country.

Mahatmaji's Address

Mahatmaji said:—

To-night I see no signs of sorrow on your faces; instead I find joy writ large on your faces, and so should it be. One by one, many eminent leaders and great sons of the Motherland have passed away when the country needed them most. We should not weep for them. Do not think that we are to-night offering the body of clay that enshrined that beautiful soul to fire. In fact you are all witnesses to the fact that the high soul has sacrificed itself for the country.

It is not the first sacrifice in freedom's cause. Late Lokmanya Tilak's sacrifice is still fresh in your memory. I attended the last rites of Lokmanya Tilak and witnessed the same scenes that am witnessing to-night. Then at Bombay I saw cheerfulness on the faces of the people. At first I could not understand the reason.

When I overcame my personal attachment for the Lokmanya, I realised the reason. I felt that the people had understood the martyrdom of the Lokmanya better than myself. Hence they were cheerful. The Lokmanya's martyrdom had crowned his life. Similar was the case with the great Pandit Motilal. So had done Deshbandhu Das, Lajpat Rai, Hakim Ajmalkhan, Maulana Mohommad Ali who died for the cause of the country. His sacrifice was a matter of joy and pride.

I am glad you are cheerful to-night. But your cheerfulness is only proper if you have realized its importance. Otherwise the world will look upon you and say: "They are brutes. Such an eminent leader of theirs is dead and they are not in mourning." But I hope the world will not take it in that light. If you regard it as national *yajna* and feel it your duty to take part in it, then one and all, take the sacred vow on the holy Ganges bank to-night that you shall make all the necessary sacrifice required for the attainment of complete independence and for the good of the country. If you take this vow tonight we will achieve our object.

Panditji was a hero and a great fighter. He fought many battles of the country but he also gave a tough fight to Yamaraj, the God of Death. Panditji has, in fact, been successful in this fight too. Yesterday morning at Lucknow Panditji's condition and courage had assured

every body that Panditji would successfully recover from the illness. Only yesterday I told Pandit Motilal "If you gain health, then I will have my *Swaraj*."

Pandit Motilal replied smilingly "*Swarajya* has already been achieved. When sixty thousand men, women and children have made splendid sacrifices, when people have patiently borne *lathis* and bullets, what else but *Swarajya* can be the result?"

Panditji had a very high soul and perfect peace of mind. I am sorry last night I could not talk to him, but Mrs. Nehru who was by his side told me that it was God's special favour that Panditji was heard reciting sacred *gayatri mantra* last night.

Panditji was not a blind follower of religion and sometimes he used to make fun of religion; because he was opposed to the fraud that had crept into religion. Sometimes Panditji felt annoyed at religious fraud but I knew well that Panditji was a believer in God and last evening he was continuously reciting the lovely name *Rama*. He never uttered a sigh of grief or pain. It was a lesson to all those who wanted to be truly religious. Panditji has by his sacrifice purified himself. Myself and others should also be purified in the same *yajna*. Panditji had offered himself, his only son, his daughter-in-law, son-in-law and his all at the altar of the motherland.

It is your duty to take a sacred vow which may

enable India to achieve success in her resolve. India has taken a vow which has today moved the whole world and has attracted world-wide attention. It is India's resolve to attain complete independence by non-violence and truth as the only weapon. The world is watching the great experiment anxiously. You must take a vow to make it a complete success. I pray to God to bless us with strength enough to achieve success in the mission.

Pandit Malaviya's address

Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya then delivered a touching speech:—

He said that, when their hearts were full of the sentiment so beautifully described by Mahatma Gandhi, he could not add anything to it.

The speaker was a school-mate of Pandit Motilal and their friendship dated back to the time when they were eight years old. He was sorry that he was not present at Lucknow by the death bed of his friend, but his son was there. In spite of Mahatmaji's advice to take courage, his heart was not in his control and he felt shocked with grief.

Pandit Motilal was a great hero, he was an embodiment of sacrifice. His sacrifice was unrivalled in its own way. So were the sacrifices of Lokmanya, Deshbandhu Das, Lajpatrai in their own way.

Pandit Motilal was a master of all the qualities that make a man great. His courage, sacri-

fice, patriotism and generosity had all lessons for them. His one and only desire was to see Mother India enjoy complete independence and he urged people not to take rest till it was achieved. He wanted India to enjoy the same freedom as other countries enjoyed in their home. Unless this was achieved, Indians could not stand erect before the world. They must not forget that anxiety for freedom which was responsible for the death of Panditji. Love for complete Independence had sent him to jail, and jail life hastened his death.

Proceeding, Pandit Malaviya emphasised the necessity for attaining *Purna Swaraj*. If there was deficiency in *Purna Swaraj* by even so little as a piece of rice, then it was not *Purna Swaraj*. Pandit Motilal fought for complete *Swaraj*, and this had hastened his end.

When Pandit Motilal had stepped into his car on his departure for Lucknow he said *is par ki us par* (on this side or that) meaning that either he would survive or die.

The national struggle, Pandit Malaviya proceeded, had shown that in 1930 *Swaraj* had been established. People had shown that they could not be governed against their will.

The soul of Pandit Motilal still survived. Pandit Jawaharlal was the second soul of Pandit Motilal. Nehru and Pandit Malaviya prayed to God to give the same strength and determination to Pandit Jawaharlal which had distinguished his father. Let them take a vow that

until they got Swaraj they would not rest satisfied.

Pandit Malaviya proceeding said that nationalism was the foundation of true *Swaraj*. Let them forget sectional differences and establish cordial relations between different communities. All India was plunged in sorrow over the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru, which showed what great strides India had taken on the road towards national consciousness. Let them undergo whatever sacrifices are necessary. Boycott of foreign cloth is nothing. Let them resolve to sacrifice life itself for the attainment of *purna swaraj*. Before they departed from the shore of the Ganges let them take this vow.

"I hate the word 'Indianisation' from the bottom of my heart. We are in India and there is no question about Indianisation. What India wants first is to get rid of Europeanisation of the Army."

Pandit Motilal Nehru.

CHAPTER III.

THE *SHRADH* CEREMONY AND MOTILAL DAY

In pursuance of the directions of Mahatma Gandhi, Sunday, the 15th February, 1931, the day fixed for the performance of the tenth day *shraddh* ceremony of Pandit Motilal Nehru, was observed as 'Motilal Day' throughout the length and breadth of India.

Allahabad

At Allahabad there was a complete suspension of business particularly in Hindu quarters. The occasion co-incided with the Shiva Ratri festival, when the Hindus generally observe fast; many persons kept a fast on the day on account of the *shraddh* ceremony. Messes in several students' hostels were altogether closed in the morning.

The *Sradh*

The first *shraddh* oblations were offered to the spirit of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru by his son Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on Sunday morning at the Sangam and in the afternoon the public carried on the programme laid down by Mahatma Gandhi for the celebration of the Motilal Day.

Afternoon's Procession

At about 12-30 p. m. a procession was organised in front of the Khaddar Bhandar and it marched to the

bund at the river bank where a public meeting was held just below the *bent*. Strict silence was observed by the processionists during their march and they proceeded to the *bent* in rows of two in a remarkably orderly fashion keeping to the left of the road.

An overwhelming majority of the processionists were clad in Khaddar. While the procession was on march many people were seen hurrying to the meeting place on vehicles or on foot, and by 3 p. m., the time fixed for the meeting, thousands of people assembled below the *bent*.

The Meeting on the Bund

Punctually at 3 p. m. Mahatma Gandhi arrived at the meeting in company with, among others, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and took his seat on the rostrum.

Among those on the *dais* were Pandit and Mrs. Jawaharlal, Mrs. Naidu, Mr. Rajagopalachari, Mr. and Mrs. Pandit, Miss Krishna Nehru, Mr. Pattabhi Seetaramayya, Mr. Mathuradas Triumji, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon and Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh.

After a song Maulana Abul Kalam Azad took the chair.

The Pledge

The chairman proceeded immediately with the main business of the meeting, namely, calling upon the audience to take a vow for the achievement of *Purna Swaraj*, a work for which Pandit Motilal Nehru lived and died, and the chairman therefore asked Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon, the president of the

provincial Congress Committee, to move the resolution embodying the vow prescribed by Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. Tandon after explaining the text of the pledge invited the audience to repeat it word for word. The people assembled at the meeting took the vow, with a view to commemorate the great sacrifices of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, to do greater work than they had hitherto done, in order to attain *Purna Swaraj* early.

Immediate Programme

Mr. Tandon next pointed out from a printed programme the kind of work, which people should do in the struggle for Swaraj ; giving up the use of liquor and drugs and peaceful picketing of liquor and drug shops until legislation was enacted against their use ; boycott of foreign cloth and picketing of foreign cloth shops ; spinning and use of handspun Khadi, and dedication of some part of one's income to the cause of the nation.

Mahatma Gandhi's Speech

Mahatma Gandhi spun with a *takli* as he sat at the meeting.

Addressing the meeting he said it was a belief entertained in all religions that a person's soul never dies and the *shradh* ceremony was performed with a view to give peace to the deceased's soul. A person generally does not leave his body without a single desire. Some desire is always left in him unfulfilled. Pandit Motilal Nehru, died with a longing for Swaraj. It was his constant wish that the entire country

should be free and the reins of her government should be in the hands of her own representatives, and that justice should be done to the poorest in this land, be they Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis, or Sikhs. It therefore, struck him, that some such thing should be done that day as would be real *shradh* for giving peace to the soul of Pandit Motilal Nehru. He, therefore, issued an appeal for the celebration of the memorial day.

Proceeding Mahatma Gandhi said that a bath in the Ganges was no *shrauth*. It certainly cleaned the body but purification of the inner selves could only be done by inward act. Such act was the pledge which they had just then taken. But it was useless if they did not act up to it. They had to do something that would hasten the advent of Swaraj and that, they knew, would give peace to the soul of Pandit Motilal Nehru. He knew of thousands of people giving their lives simply because of their anxiety not to break their pledges. Mahatma Gandhi hoped that the people who had taken the vow to work for the attainment of complete Swaraj would abide by their pledges.

Mahatma Gandhi also appealed to the people to continue their efforts for bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity, of the necessity of which he was reminded by the recent disturbances in sacred Kashi. He added that the attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity was also the mission of Pandit Motilal Nehru's life, and it was Mahatma Gandhi's conviction that if people combined to bring about that unity and attained it, other work for the attainment of Swaraj would become

very easy. He had learned that Hindus and Muslims in Kashi were cutting each other's throats. He did not want Swaraj at the expense of a single party. Neither he nor Pandit Motilal Nehru cared for Swaraj exclusively for Hindus or Muslims. Swaraj under which Hindus and Muslims and others could live together was the aim of his life. It was, therefore, a matter for great shame if either community committed excesses against the other. It would be appropriate if every one in the audience took the pledge to promote communal unity.

He added that in the course of the struggle they had lost Lokamanya Tilak, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Lala Lajpat Rai, Deshbandhu Das, and now Pandit Motilal Nehru was gone. It was time, therefore, that they did their duty and attained the goal for which these leaders had died.

Maulana Azad

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad remarked that if any words could be expressed at that day's silent meeting, they were those which were expressed by Mahatma Gandhi and he did not wish to add anything to what had been said. Their longing for Swaraj had been amply expressed and the work of carrying out the pledge taken remained to be done. It was the belief of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad that the attainment of Swaraj, which was so dear to Pandit Motilal Nehru, would be a matter of no distant date if they carried out the work in conformity with the solemn pledge they had taken.

• The meeting then came to a close and the gathering dispersed.

Bombay

'Motilal Day' was observed at Bombay in accordance with the programme chalked out by Gandhiji. As per instructions a large number of citizens observed fast, while some others who were religiously-minded commenced their fast by taking sea baths early in the morning. A *hartal* also was observed with the exception of a few Mahomedan and Khadi shops which remained open. Congress workers and volunteers hawked hand-spun Khadi during the morning.

The regular programme of the day commenced with a mammoth silent procession at 3 p. m. which started from Azad Maidan and after passing the important thoroughfares terminated at Choupatti sands. The procession was led by Mr Koladkar, president, and other members of the 'War council' as also by Messrs. Nariman, Munshi and others. A monster meeting was held at Choupatti at 5 p. m. whereat Mr. Koladkar paid glowing tributes to Pandit Motilal Nehru in the course of a brief speech and read the following pledge which was repeated by the audience:

We, assembled in this meeting for commemorating the great and noble sacrifices of the late revered Motilal Nehru, hereby solemnly resolve to dedicate ourselves more fully than hitherto to the cause of the country so as to hasten the advent of *Purna Swaraj*.

A similar procession and meeting were held simultaneously in the mill area.

Lahore

'Motilal Day' was observed at Lahore with a partial *hartal* and procession. A largely-attended public meeting was held outside the Moti Gate. Ladies predominated in the procession. The programme laid down by the Congress Working Committee was gone through.

Madras

The 'Motilal Day' celebrations commenced at Madras in the morning in the Gokhale Hall with a crowded meeting of students at which a dozen speakers paid tributes to Pandit Motilal Nehru's sacrifice and exhorted the audience to sign the Swadeshi pledges which were distributed in large numbers. Miss Kameswaram, president of the East Godavari Congress Committee, presided.

A big procession was taken out in the afternoon to the High Court beach where a public meeting was held to take the pledge as laid down in the programme.

Calcutta

Complete *hartal* was observed in the city in a peaceful manner and in every quarter of the city the streets wore a deserted appearance. From midday people of all ages and of all shades of opinion began to assemble in every Park both in Northern and Southern section of the city and in all the Parks Pandit Motilal's portrait was placed under a huge tri-coloured flag, and flowers and garlands were offered with the utmost solemnity.

From every centre people proceeded to join the main procession on its way to the Maidan to attend the mammoth meeting there.

The meeting was announced to be held at 3-24 p. m. (Calcutta Time) at the base of the Ochterlony Monument under the presidency of Sj. J. M. Sen Gupta. Long before the announced time people of all ages began to pour in from different quarters of the city and almost half of the space in front of the Ochterlony Monument was practically filled up. It is estimated that over a lakh of people assembled on the Maidan.

Then punctually at 3-24 p. m. Sj. Sen Gupta read out the pledge every word of which was repeated by the vast crowd.

After the pledge had been read out and accepted by the meeting, the vast concourse stood up in silence for full five minutes, in accordance with the instructions of Sj. Sen Gupta.

With a simple waving of the hand by Sj. Sen Gupta the huge congregation resumed its seat and then dispersed peacefully in obedience to his instructions.

"There is no terrible meaning in the word "Revolution" other than what is found in an ordinary dictionary. It is after all a very simple word. We are all peaceful revolutionaries. We want, frankly, revolution, of course, not accompanied by violence. Times without number we have said that we want a bloodless revolution."

Pandit Motilal Nehru.

CHAPTER IV

FEELING IN THE COUNTRY

Messages of Condolence

Among the thousands of messages of condolence that were sent to the widow and son of late Pandit Motilal on receipt of the sad news of his death, some are given below :

His Excellency the Viceroy

The Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy has sent the following telegram to Mrs. Motilal Nehru, Allahabad :—

The Viceroy and Lady Irwin greatly regret to learn the sad news of your husband's death and send you and your family a message of most sincere sympathy in your sorrow.

Deeply grieved to receive the sad news. The whole country mourns Panditji's death. The nation can never forget his unequalled record of service and sacrifice in the cause of national freedom. His absence specially at the present juncture is an irreparable loss to India. Every Indian heart goes out to you in your great bereavement. Convey my most heartfelt condolences to the whole family.

Vallabh Patel

Nation joins weeping with you in mourning the loss of your father and nation's father.

J. M. Sen Gupta.

Nation grieves your heroic father's loss. My family mourns.

Prof. Nripendra Ch. Banerjee.

Sudden passing away of revered Punditji strikes me dumb. Pray Almighty grant peace to his soul and solace to you.

Kaviraj Syamadas Bachaspati.

Deeply grieved at great national calamity; heartfelt condolence.

Gananath Sen.

Please accept the deep and sincere sympathy of the people of Calcutta in your terrible bereavement.

S. K. Basu (Deputy Mayor, Calcutta.)

Mr. C. Vijayaraghav Achariar has wired to Pandit Jawaharlal expressing deep sorrow and deploring the loss of the great leader at a critical period of the country's history.

Sir Hugh Cocke, leader of the European group in

the Assembly, sent the following telegram to Mrs. Motilal Nehru :—

“The European group in the Legislative Assembly send you their deepest sympathy in your bereavement, and mourn the loss of a most respected former comrade in the Assembly.”

From Rajas and Maharajas

Telegrams from Rajas and Maharajas include those from his Highness the Gaikwar and Maharani of Baroda, his Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, Raja of Santosh and Raja of Kollengode.

From Congress Leaders

Amongst telegrams from distinguished leaders of the Congress the following may be mentioned : Mrs. Kasturbai Gandhi, Mrs. C. R. Das, Begum Sahib Mohamed Ali, Mrs. Lajpat Rai, Mrs. Urmila Devi, Mrs. Santanam, Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Mrs. Ambalal Sarabhai, Mrs. Nargis and Perin Captain, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Mr. and Mrs. Tyabji, Mr. Nariman, Mr. and Mrs. Munshi, Seth Jammalal Bajaj, Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Syt. Aney, Pandit Indra, Syt. Shankarlal Banker, Mr. and Mrs. Sahni, Mr. Nalini Sarkar, Syt. Mathuradas Tricumji, Syt. Hardikar, Messrs. Rangaswami Iyengar and Brelvi, Meerut prisoners, Miss Khurshed Nawraoji, Messrs. Manilal, Ramdas and Devdas Gandhi, Dr. Kanuga, Darbar Gopaldas and Mrs. Gopal Das and Amritlal Seth, (the last eight from Sabarmati jail).

From other Leaders

Amongst the distinguished names of leaders of other parties may be mentioned : Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, Maharaja Saheb of Mahmudabad, Mr. Jinnah, Syt. Jayakar, Sir C. Setalvad, Sir M. Visweswaraya, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Syt. Subbaroyan, Syt. Natrajan, Syt. N. M. Joshi, Munshi Iswar Saran, Syt. Ambalal Sarabhi, Syt. Sachchidananda Sinha, Sir Ali Imam, Dr. P. C. Roy, Mr. J. R. D. Tata, Mr. Chagla, Mr. Ginwala, Syt. Lalji Naranji, Syt. Shantikumar Narottom, Mr. Horniman, Mr. Motilal Roy, Syt. Raghuvir Singh, Mr. Sri Ram, Mr. George Joseph, Dr. and Mrs. Row and Mr. Savarkar.

Rabindranath observes Havishya

Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore has taken "Havishyanna" to-day (Feb. 7) and desired the students of the Vishwabharati also to do likewise in token of mourning and respect for the late Pandit Motilal Nehru. He thinks this a better method of showing respect to the Illustrious Deceased than closing the institutions.

The Country in Mourning

The whole country was plunged in mourning at the news of Pandit Motilal's passing away. There were condolence meetings, processions, hartals all over India. We record below the scenes in some of

the more important cities and the resolutions of condolence in some important public bodies.

Congress Working Committee

The Working Committee of the Congress meeting at Allahabad adopted the following resolution on February 13, 1931.

This meeting of the Working Committee places on record its deep sorrow at the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru whose counsel was a source of strength to all Congress workers; whose noble sacrifice was an inspiration to the ease loving and whose courage was a solvent for the weakness of the weak. This meeting conveys its respectful condolence to Srimati Swaruprani and other members of the family.

Legislative Assembly

The normal agenda before the Assembly was not taken up on Monday, Feb. 9, 1931, and Sir George Rainy, Leader of the House, moved a condolence resolution on Pandit Motilal Nehru's death. Expressing sorrow and grief of the Government of India, and associating with it His Majesty's Secretary of State, he said: "We have met to-day under a shadow of grief that India has suffered by the removal of Pandit Motilal Nehru who, for the last ten years, held the foremost place in the public life of the country."

"Of his policy and achievement, this is not the day to speak. So far as he is concerned the chapter is closed and the records are sealed up to await the judgment of the historians, but that he will fill a large space in the historians' pages none of us can doubt. However the value of his work may be assessed, no

one will question his whole-hearted devotion to the interests of India as he conceived them or impute to him any motive other than an unsparing desire to serve his country.

"There are many in this House who can speak of Pandit Motilal Nehru from a greater degree of intimacy than I could claim. He had a personality which impressed itself on the most unobservant. Eminent as a lawyer, eminent as a speaker and in the first rank as a political leader, he could not but take the foremost place wherever he might be, whether within these walls or outside them. The quickness of his intellect, his skill in debate, his adroitness as a tactician and his strength of purpose rendered him a formidable adversary in controversy. These qualities were there for all to see, but he had other qualities which lent distinction to his character in private life as well as in politics, and it is these I myself often recall. An endearing courtesy, ready sense of humour, freedom from malice and bitterness and a wide and deep culture rendered him unrivalled as a host and the most charming of companions. We shall not again see in this House his well remembered figure, but we shall often recall that exquisite fitness of attire which aptly symbolised the clean fighter and the great gentleman and that impressive face, deeply lined and careworn, on which character and intellect were so deeply imprinted.

"On behalf of the Government of India, Mr. President, I have tried to say something of what is in our minds and hearts, and I am authorised to say that His Majesty's Secretary of State for India desires

to be associated with our expression of regret and sorrow. I believe it would be in accordance with the wishes of everyone in this House, Mr. President, that you convey to the family of the deceased our deep sympathy in their bereavement."

Sir Harisingh Gour, on behalf of the Nationalists, requested the House to adjourn as a mark of respect to the memory of the leader who had sacrificed his life and liberty to the service of his Motherland. India was poorer by the death of Pandit Motilal who after a brilliant career as a lawyer, dedicated the rest of his life and fought the battle of India as a clean fighter. It was he who sowed the seed of the Round Table Conference, but, unfortunately, he did not live to reap the harvest.

Mr. Mahomed Yakub, on behalf of the Independents, regarded Pandit Motilal's death as a national calamity. Misfortunes never came single for, after Mahomed Ali, it was Motilal Nehru. In the words of the poet: "Never will die a man whose heart was breathing with the life of his Motherland and his name will always live in letters of gold." Pandit Motilal combined in him both Muslim and Hindu culture and if ever there was one who could have solved the Hindu-Muslim question amicably, it was he.

Sir Hugh Cocke, on behalf of the European group, felt it a privilege to be associated in the tribute to a great man and in the desire for the adjournment of the House out of respect to his memory. It was sad that Pandit Motilal left them at this particular time—Motilal, who fought for India's attainment of her proper place in the comity of nations.

The Raja of Kollengode, on behalf of the land-owners' group felt sure that Pandit Motilal's name would live in history as the maker of modern India. Their consolation lay in the fact that Motilal was able to witness the dawn of a new era of great promise.

Mr. T. R. Phookun, as a friend of Pandit Motilal, said that the latter was the hero of a thousand battles and that his spirit would inspire them to victory.

Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmed said that Pandit Motilal brought life and dignity to the Assembly and his efforts to bring about Hindu Moslem unity were the outstanding features of his life.

Mr. Amarnath Dutt said that he was one who sat at the feet of Pandit Motilal to learn political wisdom in the Assembly and, as such, he felt that, in the death of his late leader, one of the brightest stars had fallen from the firmament of Indian nationalism.

Mr. Yamin Khan said that the late Pandit had the largest following amongst the Mussalmans of the United Provinces and enjoyed the confidence of every community.

Mr. Ranga Iyer stated that, in the case of Pandit Motilal, it might be truly said that "the good that men do will live after them and the evil is oft cremated with their bones."

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah, the President, associated himself with the observations of the previous speakers on this mournful occasion and said that it was most unfortunate that Pandit Motilal should have been taken away at the present juncture in the history of the Motherland when his services would have been most invaluable. Agreeably to the wishes of the

House, he promised to convey the message of condolence to the bereaved family.

As it was the general desire that the House should adjourn without transacting business as a tribute to the memory of the departed leader, he accordingly adjourned the Assembly.

Calcutta Corporation

The Calcutta Corporation adjourned its special meeting on Monday 9th Feby. as a mark of respect to the memory of Pandit Motilal Nehru.

The following resolution was adopted in the meeting all standing :—

(i) The Corporation of Calcutta place on record their deep and profound sorrow and sense of incalculable loss at the sad demise of Pandit Motilal Nehru, one of the foremost leaders in India's struggle for freedom whose unique self-renunciation and far-sighted statesmanship have so largely shaped her recent political history and have quickened the realisation of her God-appointed destiny.

(ii) The Corporation recall with melancholy pride his close and intimate associations with this city which served as the venue of some of his momentous endeavours for the emancipation of his country and was honoured with the privilege of offering him rest and comfort in the evening of his glorious life.

(iii) The Corporation desire that an expression of their sincere and respectful condolence and sympathy be conveyed to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the other members of the bereaved family.

In moving the resolution Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy did not want to say anything, coming, as he did, from

the death-bed of Pandit Motilal Nehru except adding that Panditji who is dead would live in spirit in India.

Mr. Sachindra Nath Mookerjee who seconded the resolution observed "Pandit Motilal has lived a great life, fought a great fight and has at last died a great death—a death to be coveted by princes among men. He is destined to join the band of the immortals—the band of those who are conquerors of death."

Mr. Yakub in associating himself with the resolution said "We Moslems of India can ill afford to lose men like Maulana Mahammad Ali and Pandit Motilal Nehru in this hour of national crisis.

We do hope on Panditji's ashes shall rise a monument—a temple in which the two sons of India, Hindu and Moslem, will together worship their Mother."

The Deputy Mayor in reference to Pandit Motilal's parting message to Bengal said the people of Bengal would best show their respect to him if they followed the message to the latter,—if they could bring in their midst the happy return of the day when Deshbandhu lived, when there was no division and difference among them.

Calcutta

All Calcutta was stricken with grief when the stunning news of the passing away of Pandit Motilal Nehru reached the city. Shops were immediately closed: business quarters presented a deserted appearance: scholars and professors left their classroom: the National Flag was half-masted and the city lay quiet under the burden of a great grief.

An impressive ceremony was witnessed in the Sradhanand Park in the afternoon when a record crowd gathered to pay homage to the memory of the great patriot. Sj. J. M. Sen-Gupta presided over the vast assemblage. A well-decorated portrait of Pandit Motilal Nehru, placed on a profusely decorated bier, was brought in procession to the meeting. A very large number of ladies was present. Every inch of space in the spacious park was occupied long before the scheduled time, thousands that came late crowding the streets and footpaths and the balconies and windows of the houses round about the park.

Prominent among those present were: Pt. Syamsundar Chakravarti, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Srijukta Nelie Sen-Gupta, Srijukta Urmila Devi, Miss Jyotirmayee Ganguly, Srijukta Mohini Devi, Mr. T. C. Goswami, Dr. J. N. Maitra, Dr. J. M. Das Gupta, Sj. Barada Prasanna Pain, Sj. Kiran Sankar Roy, Sj. Purushottam Roy, Sj. Lalit Mohan Das, and Sj. Suresh Chandra Majumdar.

Addressing the vast gathering from a raised platform Sj. J. M. Sen Gupta told them the stunning news of the passing away of the great leader at Lucknow on Friday morning. It was but fit and proper that when the nation had not yet been able to perform the last rites of its beloved leader, no speeches should be made at that meeting but that they should pray in solemn silence to the Almighty God for the restful repose of the great soul and pray for the success of the nation's struggle in which 'Panditji laid down his life.

Sj. Sen Gupta then asked the gathering to stand

up and pray in silence for full five minutes for the peace of the soul of the great patriot.

In obedience to S_j. Sen Gupta's direction the vast concourse stood up in solemn silence. For full five minutes there was pin-drop silence. For full five minutes countless hearts put themselves in communion with the Giver of all good to grant peace to the great soul. For full five minutes the vast gathering composed of men and women, rich and poor, Hindus and Mahomedans, offered their silent and heartfelt prayers for peace of the great leader.

After the lapse of five minutes S_j. Sen Gupta moved the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted.

1. This meeting of the citizens of Calcutta records its feeling of profound grief and loss at the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru and deeply condoles with his widow and his son and other members of his family in their great bereavement.

2. This meeting puts on record its deep sense of appreciation of the invaluable services of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru to the nation and to the cause of the national struggle for Freedom, and gratefully acknowledges its irredeemable debt to the great leader, fighter and patriot in whose mind his country and his people continued to hold the foremost place till almost the moment of his death.

3. This meeting expresses its sense of the irreparable loss which the nation has sustained in Pandit Motilal Nehru's death at the present crisis of the national struggle.

4. This meeting resolves that a copy of these

FEELING IN

resolutions be sent to M
Lal Nehru.

Sj. Sen Gupta then
their assent to the resolutions by standing up. The
entire gathering then stood up and the resolutions
were declared carried unanimously.

Bombay

Glowing tributes to the "burning and unparalleled" patriotism and sacrifices of Pandit Motilal Nehru were paid by prominent Hindu and Muslim leaders at a mammoth meeting held this evening at the Azad Maidan to mourn the Pandit's death. The meeting was representative of all classes communities and all shades of political opinion. The most prominent among those present were Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, who moved the condolence resolution, Sir Chunilal Mehta, Sardar Suliman, Mr. Husseinbhoj Lalji, Mayor of the Bombay Corporation, Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, Sir Prabhashankar Pattan, Dr. Sayyad Mohamed, general secretary, All-India Congress Committee, Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram, Mr. K. M. Munshi, Mr. K. F. Nariman and Mr. S. A. Brelvi editor of the "Bombay Chronicle".

Sardar Vallabhbai Patel, who presided over the meeting in the course of his speech, said that the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru had deprived the nation of its able Commander-in-Chief, under whom the speaker had the honour of being an humble soldier. It was a joy for him to serve under such an able Commander, whose services to the country during the last nine months were more than what they were during the rest of his life.

Concluding, Sardar Vallabhbhai exhorted the audience to prove their fidelity and loyalty to their departed leader by completing the work which he left unfinished.

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas then moved the following resolution "This public meeting of the citizens of Bombay place on record their profound grief at the lamentable demise of Pandit Motilal Nehru the beloved leader of the people and the steadfast patriot, who had guided with courage and wisdom the counsels of the nation at a critical period in its history and who, having undergone the utmost sacrifices and suffering in the cause of the country, passed away in the services of his motherland. This meeting further conveys its heartfelt condolences to Mrs. Motilal Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other members of the family in their sad bereavement."

Moving the resolution Sir Purshottamdas referred to the Pandit's able work in the Assembly and declared that it would remain as a monument left by the Pandit even after India had attained Swaraj and had a regular parliamentary system of Government. Concluding he said that the Pandit was a clean fighter, who never hit below the belt, which made even his opponents admire him.

Dr. Sayyad Mohamed, in seconding the resolution referred to his close contact with the Pandit's family and regretted his having come to Bombay and missed the opportunity of being by his bedside at the last moment.

After several other speakers had spoken support-

ing the resolution and paying tribute to the Pandit for his services and sacrifices the meeting unanimously adopted the resolution all standing.

The Bombay Municipal Corporation adjourned its meeting today, without transacting any business, in honour of the sad demise of Pandit Motilal Nehru. A number of Municipal Councillors, including the President paid glowing tributes to Pandit's "unparalleled and burning patriotism" and characterised his death at this juncture as "the greatest crisis in the history of the Motherland".

Delhi

Striking tributes were paid to the memory of Pandit Motilal Nehru at a public meeting last evening (6th Feby.) in Delhi held in the Gandhi Ground. Mr. Asafali said, Pandit Motilal had left a gap in the public life which it would not be easy to fill. Mr. Abdul Jail Khan appealed to the Muslims and the Hindus to sink their differences as a tribute to the departed leader.

Mr. Rajagopalachariar said, "We are in the midst of one of the greatest moral victories of the age but to humble us in our pride God has given us a blow of the greatest magnitude. Mahatma Gandhi may be a greater man but if I were asked for a king I would have chosen Motilal."

Speaking at the dinner of the Delhi Rotary Club Mr. Arthur Moore, M.L.A., said he had not known any man in India who had so endeared himself to his political opponents or whom they would more willingly have had on their side.

The Delhi Bar Association passed a resolution

recording deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sudden and untimely death of Pandit Motilal Nehru one of the most distinguished leaders of the Bar and universally recognised champion of independence in India.

Sir Darcy Lindsay, leader of the European group in the second and third Assembly, who arrived last night from Calcutta, regretted the loss of a great soul.

Lahore

A huge black flag procession more than 30,000 people participating, all bareheaded, was taken out this afternoon to mourn the death of Pandit Motilal. About 5000 ladies who formed the vanguard of the procession which was a mile long joining. A large size of the photo of Panditji which was profusely garlanded was carried in front followed by ladies who were singing pitiful mourning dirges. This was followed by Congress workers, volunteers and members of general public singing in a praise of the various qualities of head and heart of the departed great. As the procession wended its course, it swelled in volume till when it emerged through the city walls, it looked like a seething mass of humanity. All balconies, house tops and every place of vantage along the route was crowded. After parading the principal localities of the city the procession terminated at a public meeting outside the Mochi Gate presided over by Doctor Satyapal. A resolution was adopted recording country's irreparable loss sustained by his death. The meeting dispersed late in the evening.

Everybody's face who had gathered bespoke the

feeling that no greater calamity could befall the nation struggling for freedom. Before the evening the sad news penetrated into the distant mofussil places and the news agency and newspaper offices were kept busy for confirmation.

Madras

The citizens of Madras mustered in thousands at a public meeting at Tilakghat this evening to pay homage to the late Pandit Motilal. Mr. Nageswar Rao presided. The speakers included Mrs. Annie Besant, Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, Advocate general, Dr. Subbaroyan, the opposition leader in the Madras Council, Mr. Yakub Hasan and others. All paid glowing tributes to the Pandit and mourned his death at this juncture as an incalculable and irreparable loss to India.

The Madras Advocates Association at a meeting in the afternoon at the High Court buildings adopted a resolution on the motion of the Advocate General expressing deep sorrow.

Patna

A largely attended meeting of the citizens of Patna was held in the afternoon of the 6th February to express sorrow at the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru.

Sir Ali Imam presiding said that to-day such mourning had befallen India in its poignancy and the loss was unparalleled. Such a person had passed away, round whom all hopes were centred. The Pandit, he said, sacrificed his all for the cause of the country doing good to the people and the example that he had left of his highest and consuming patrio-

tism would never die and be an object lesson for them all.

Continuing the speaker said that at this juncture when big problems awaited settlement they needed him most. In order to perpetuate his memory it was their duty to carry on his work of doing good to the people, which was the object of his life, with greater vigour. Till India's history remained, his achievements would stand on its pages with letters of gold. As a mark of respect the audience kept standing for two minutes. A resolution was unanimously passed placing on record the sense of profound sorrow at the passing away of Pandit Motilal Nehru, who by his phenomenal energy, surpassing talents, indomitable courage and above all great self-sacrifice, rendered the most invaluable services to the cause of India's national progress. The meeting also conveyed its respectful condolences to Mrs. Motilal Mehru, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other members of the family and its deepest sympathy in their bereavement.

"So many empires have gone down for having ignored the people's will; and now the British Empire is ignoring India's will and I say that the day of reckoning is not very far."

Pandit Motilal Nehru.

CHAPTER V

LEADERS' TRIBUTE

It is a tremendous loss that the country has ever sustained.

Mahatma Gandhi.

Pandit Motilal Nehru left us the Legacy of Unconquered Spirit in the Hour of India's Spiritual Triumph.

Let the great sorrow of India for the death of her noble son find a great fulfilment in her life.

Rabindranath Tagore

I am deeply grieved to hear that my life-long esteemed friend Pandit Motilal Nehru has passed away. It is a national calamity that he has been removed from our midst at a time when the country stood most in need of his courageous and able guidance.

He was an illustrious son of the motherland. He has earned the glory of having died fighting for the freedom of the country and bravely fighting even the prolonged cruel illness, which most oppressed him during the last few days of his life. The motherland has every reason to be proud of him. There will be deep sorrow felt over the whole length and breadth of the country such as has been felt seldom before. My

heart goes out in respectful sympathy to the respected old Mrs. Motilal Nehru, who was already too much broken down by continuous suffering of her husband and to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the rest of the family in their great bereavement. I hope, however, their grief will be assuaged by the thought that the whole nation shares with them their deep sorrow."

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

One of India's most loved and trusted leaders passed away from our earth this morning. We know that he has not really left us, his spirit remains with us to inspire his example and to stimulate and guide. He is not gone from us, though we lose sight of the body of the man we loved.

Dr. Annie Besant.

In the present distracted state of the public mind in India, it is hardly possible to correctly appraise the political work and worth of Pandit Motilal. I had known him for more than a quarter of a century and more intimately for twenty years. It need hardly be said that the school of nationalist politics which he represented was not my school and we differ very wildly in recent political activities. But whether one agreed with him or differed from him, one could not fail to be impressed by two things in his life and character. First, Pandit Motilal was a perfect gentleman in every sense of the term and next, he was, without doubt, one of the ablest advocates we had. His political advocacy was as powerful as his legal advocacy. In him, we have lost a great force in our

present public life. I see no one about us just now who can replace Pandit Motilal. Differences of opinion, there must be among thoughtful men and ultimately he does not really count. It is through the conflicts of opinions and ideals that a public life of a country always develops. In this development of the contemporary Indian politics, Pandit Motilal brought high intellectual gift, genuine patriotism which, though ardent, was never tainted by the least suspicion of racial hatred and a manner which always made his friends from among his political opponents.

Though he had been called away in the fulness of his age, we are very much poorer to-day for his death. I am glad to have this opportunity of paying my humble tribute to his honoured memory.

Bepin Chandra Pal.

Pandit Motilal was dying by inches. And the process is complete to-day. Congress politics have received the most fatal blow when its future is big with grim but immense possibilities.

Ten years ago when he entered virile nationalist politics he also accepted its implications as his subsequent conduct showed. That unuttered vow is now fulfilled. He is going to achieve by death what was begun by shedding his life-blood drop by drop at the fag end of his days.

Many are called but few are taken. The whole Nehru family have been called and taken. A family self-dedication as of King Dasarath has once more made instinct with fire the dry bones of the valley.

No wonder India shall again go the way of truth, freedom and immortality.

Nachiketa wrested the supreme secret from God and glorified the sacrifice which his father had initiated. And we have no doubt that such a magnificent role is reserved for the commissioned and worthy son and successor of the great national hero who, it is said, was baptized by him with the fire which has thus consumed him to holy embers. Cast in the mould of royalty Pandit Nehru has lived, ruled and died amidst the lamentations of a fifth of the world's population—the envy of real crowned heads.

This brief notice will be hardly complete without a reference to Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatmaji said that with his arms paralysed in incarcerated Das and Nehru he would be left roving like a mad man from one end of the country to the other. Both his arms have now been taken away by a Higher Power so that this stump of an ascetic may live to raise the pall that has temporarily fallen on Shebasadan and Ananda Bhawan and cause eternal sunshine of freedom to settle on their head.

Pandit Syam Sunder Chakravarty.

The shock is so great and fresh that it is difficult to appraise the calamity that has befallen the nation. The personal relationship was so intimate that I find it for the present a hopeless task to pay a proper tribute to one who killed himself as a General fighting to the last breath of his life even from his sick-bed for India's freedom. While his body was ailing his

spirit and his brain were seen to be even clearer and keener than while he was in perfect health. And not a decision of first class national importance could be taken until to the moment of his death without his desire not only to take part in the discussion but to be a prominent party in the decision. Truly it can be said that he was a General who died fighting in the line of battle."

J. M. Sen Gupta.

This is the darkest day in the century for India. Where shall we look for a statesman like our dead leader? Those of us who for decade were privileged to take share in the warfare of his political ascendancy in the charm of his magnificent life magnificently lived mourn the death of a leader who evoked the best in us evoked our love and our loyalty, our service and sacrifice. He died that others may live not as slaves but as free men. Let us be determined to be free. What other monument appropriate can we build to his great memory?

—Diwan Chamanlal.

Pandit Motilal Nehru lived and died a fighter. No more glorious end could be desired for any General than lose his life in a gallant struggle. As he said himself few days before his death "I have fought the British Government. I will fight death itself". All honour to this Great National Hero.

Many know him as a great intellect, a powerful driving force, as a man born to impress all with his striking personality but few, perhaps, understood

what deep-seated affectionate nature he had for the country he loved and for the people he called his own. They will remember the Beloved Hero for a long time and follow his lead from the region of the unknown hereafter until Swaraj is attained.

Dr. B. C. Roy.

Pandit Motilal's brilliant achievements in the field of law, and his great sacrifices have stirred the imagination of the people of India and have spread his great name and fame far and wide. There may be many of us here who may not agree with his political views. Pandit Motilal was truly great for they are great who do service. I had the privilege of his personal acquaintance when in 1914 I was in the Council of State and he was in the Legislative Assembly. He was a man of the most engaging personality.

Justice Dwarkanath Mitter.

All the magnificent gifts of Pandit Motilal Nehru's spirit and intellect were fused in the flame of his matchless patriotism into a victorious martyrdom for the sake of India's deliverance from bondage.

Sarojini Naidu

Pandit Motilal was aware of his failing health for some considerable time. In February last, when I examined him, I warned him and Pandit Jawaharlal of the serious condition, but Pandit Motilal told me that he could not spare himself and was prepared to

die in gaols. In the absence of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal, the whole burden of conducting the movement fell of him. There is not the least doubt that the strain hastened his end. His was a deliberate sacrifice in the service of the Motherland.

Dr. M. A. Ansari

So another great tragedy has taken place. Like the Pandava brothers Deshabandhu, Motilal Nehru, Ansari and Lajpat Rai had started on their pilgrimage to the promised land under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The memory is still fresh with us of how the great five had pressed on, heeding no obstacle, counting no costs and how we were convulsed with grief when death took its toll of the lives of Chittaranjan and Lala Lajpat. Hardly has our Motherland recovered her breath when the third great pilgrim of Freedom leaves us for his eternal home. The grief that has stricken us lies too deep for tears and beggars all our efforts at anything like an adequate utterance of it.

Pandit Motilal was the romantic hero of the party. A Prince not only among men and in his profession but also in his ways of living and moving about. His renunciation of all the secular joys of life and willing initiation into the hard Gandhi creed of self-denial and austerities, had taken India's heart by storm from the very start, and the undeviating zeal the inflexible determination, the set-face and the firm tread with which he had walked along the hard pathway with his fellow-pilgrims to the last, had at every step called forth his countrymen's warmest love and admiration

and now alas he has left us struck by the cruel hand of death; but though his body be gone, every one of us Indians, feels that his imperishable spirit remains with his country men as an immortal inspiration, calling to them unceasingly and every moment to live for the Motherland, to serve and save her and die for her, too when the call comes for that last ritual of life.

B. C. Chatterjee.

The nation had lost one of its grandest figures. His able guidance was never more wanted than now. It is a terrible stroke of ill luck for the people of India and it makes Gandhiji's burden much heavier.

C. Rajagopalachari.

In spite of his failing health and exhaustion Pandit Motilalji guided the affairs of the nation for the last nine months with wonderful courage and determination, which will be a source of inspiration to his co-workers in the struggle for freedom.

On Monday last I bade good-bye to Panditji at Allahabad. I was not quite hopeful of his recovery but I never thought that the calamity would come upon us so soon. Within the last ten years we lost Desha-bandhu Das, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Lala Lajpat Rai, but the loss of Motilal Nehru is the heaviest blow to the present national struggle, because he is snatched away from us at a time when his presence is most needed.

In July last his health was completely shattered. Only his wonderful will-power kept him going. His

arrest and jail life at such a critical stage of his health proved fatal.

We have raised memorials for Lakamanya Tilak, Deshabandhu and Lajpat Rai and surely we will like to do something worthy of Pandit Motilal Nehru too. But I would like to remind my countrymen that the best way to perpetuate his memory will be to carry on the fight for freedom to the end to which he consecrated his life.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

Pandit Motilal's gifts for negotiation were great. India mourned the loss of one whose part in the framing of the new constitution would undoubtedly have been dynamic and significant.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer.

The loss was irreparable.

Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.

A passionate sense of grief and bewilderment—of deep and abiding loss—is my uppermost feeling as I think of the passing away of one great and beloved leader. It cannot be said of Pandit Motilal Nehru he has died in his prime, but undoubtedly he has died when India's need of him was sorest—need of his balanced judgment of his feroid patriotism, need, above all, of the unquenchable fire of his faith and conviction.

As I survey Pandit Motilal's career, there is one feature that strikes me as peculiarly significant: other people begin as extremists in their hot and rebellious

youth but sink down as moderates : Pandit Motilal began as a moderate and died as a champion of unqualified independence. I knew him as a moderate in 1907 and again in 1917. But the Home Rule movement brought him out ; the Punjab gave him his baptism of fire ; Non-Co-operation lent the consecrating touch ; and in 1930—at the fag-end of life, worn-out in body but perennially youthful in soul, we found him foremost in the marching ranks, foremost in the line of fire ! And now he has fallen at last—the second of our great, fighting chiefs—fallen by the road-side ere the goal was reached or the march accomplished, but fallen with the banner of liberty radiantly uplifted in his hands !

Well may we say of him in this hour of national desolation—‘un-arm, the long day’s task is done.

Prof. J. L. Banerjee.

I had the honour of knowing Pandit Matilal intimately particularly as I was with him in the same house for the whole of the year 1920.

He had a charming personality, was an excellent raconteur, brilliant at conversation, quick in his repartees, and never lacking in the saving grace of humour.

I think I saw his political conversion, because when in 1920 at Dumraon, I remember that his views just before his son Pandit Jawaharlal arrived there, were very different, from those he expressed after his son’s departure. I have not forgotten how we used to remind him of this, at the dinner-table and in what excellent spirit he used to take our light banter. In spite of any views not being that of the Congress,

Panditji never allowed this fact to have any influence, in the matter of his pleasant personal relations with me. On one occasion he wrote me, that he respected me as an honest opponent, and that he had a horror or lukewarm friends.

On one occasion he was my guest at Calcutta house during my absence, and on my return. I found that within a few days he had become friends with all the youngmen and boys in the house.

N. N. Sircar.

The cruel hand of Death has removed from our midst one of the greatest Indians of the century ; and, at a time when the country had most need of him. Six years ago at a psychological moment the nation lost Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. At an equally psychological moment in the history of this nation, Deshbandhu's second in command is gone. Bengal, emotional Bengal, can never forget Pandit Motilal ; for, it was here, standing on the soil of Bengal, that he joined his voice with Desbandhu's and instilled into the minds of his countrymen faith in their own mission and in their own destiny. The whole world has been witnessing the incarnation of that faith in action ever since.

Great as he was as a lawyer, Panditji was greater as a man and as a leader of men. His great sacrifices for the cause of his country, his dynamic personality and his geniality and kindness in private life have left impressions on his countrymen which can never be effaced. May his soul rest in peace.

Sarat Chandra Bose.

Pandit Motilal Nehru was one of the greatest figures in the political life of India. Although constitutionalist at heart, he was driven into channels of extremism by the policy of British Government since 1924. There were many people who felt as he and his life showed that unless British policy avoided delay and impressed upon the people of India its sincerity, there would be no peace in India.

M. A. Jinnah.

I was stunned to hear that Pandit Motilal Nehru was no more.

Shivaprosad Gupta.

The death of Pandit Motilal Nehru came this morning as a shock to every one who heard it. It is a great national calamity. In him the country lost one of its greatest fighters and one of its best statesman. His resourcefulness was wonderful. At the present juncture his guidance would have been of immense value as he could bring to bear a highly practical mind on all questions without losing a grip of ideals. His spirit of self sacrifice was far greater than what is given to ordinary man. In this struggle he delighted to pile sacrifice and knew no measure for the volume of his sacrifice. The cause of India he made his own; and he did not live for anything except the liberation of India. When a free India erects its pantheon. Motilalji will have a great place near the one occupied by the architect of Modern India, Mahatma Gandhi.

K. M. Munshi.

Although we are fearing the end for the last few days, the robust optimism of our departed leader, even in his bed of suffering filled us with hopes which are now dashed to the ground. The thought which is uppermost to-day in every mind is—who will fill the void? So large a space did Motilalji occupy in the public life of our country. With his expiring breath he declared that India shall be free. That was not merely a parting message; it was his last gift—the undying spirit of faith and confidence. If Panditji has not lived to see the fulfilment of his prophecy—indeed, the fruition of the great work in which his contribution was so vast—he joins that company of our immortal dead, Tilak and Das, as a guardian angel of India's freedom.

Death could have had no terrors for Motilal. This was quite apparent to those who anxiously watched him at his bedside. If he wished to live, it was in order that he might serve India a little longer and, perhaps, grasp that freedom for India which though circumstances, has been able for a long time to elude our grasp. So far as he was concerned he had lived a "full" life—a life that is an example and a lesson. It embodied a philosophy which crude sentimentalism or piety cannot assail; for it was based on a broad basis of humanity; it frankly affirmed.

Homo Sum

Humani nihil a me alienum.

Who but Motilal could have fisted on his death-bed to a breathless inquirer after his health, saying that judging by the faces of his doctors he must be seriously ill, but that he was determined to live to

see the birth of a free India ? He was too proud not to scorn pity for his bodily sufferings. He fought the battles of Life manfully : to death he would be no object suppliant for mercy. If there was an overestimation of his bodily strength there certainly was no overestimation of his mental powers, which retained their full vigour to the last. His mind never had a page. At seventy it was equal to the struggle and as for his overestimation of his bodily strength it was a fault of which the braze must always be guilty.

Our great sorrow is tempered by the thought that the memories of so heroic a life will constitute an invisible power which will always be available in the national struggle. Who knows—Motilal dead may prove to be far more potent than Motilal alive. The living personality was magnetic ; the inspiration he has given to his people is comparable to a cosmic force.

T. C Goswami.

The magnitude of the loss which the country has sustained by the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru cannot yet be fully realised. The Nehru Report has, for all time to come killed the lie that our leaders could only destroy, but could not produce any constructive scheme of their own. If he had lived another six months, he could have helped India to take her rightful place amongst the free nations of the world. Though we have lost him in flesh, I am sure his spirit will remain about and around us to help our country to the most critical period to her history.

Baradaprasanna Pain.

A great Napoleon of fight for Indian freedom has passed away. In the thick of the battle when soldiers of freedom needed most the guidance of their great general. It is an irony of fate that he had to leave the scenes of his labours at this critical juncture of our national struggle and I am sure that he will ever watch and guide us from heaven in our march for freedom as he did while on earth. Our hearts now too full to give adequate expression to what we feel and the best way of tendering our homage to the memory of our departed leader is to carry on the great war for which he sacrificed his all, nay his life even and keep the flag flying.

Amar Nath Dutt

In the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru a dynamic personality has passed away. Howsoever one might differ from his views in certain matters even his worst enemies could not help appreciating the great sacrifices made by him in the cause of the motherland. Having been brought up in the lap of luxury his simple and self-denying life during the last ten years exhorted everybody's admiration. He was not only a great lawyer but proved himself the leader of indimitable determination. The Punjab owes a deep debt of gratitude to Pandit Motilal for the services rendered during the martial law days.

Gokul Chand Narang.

(The passing away of Pandit Motilal Nehru at this critical juncture has plunged the nation into grief.

I am so much over-whelmed with sorrow that I cannot speak more than repeat the few words which he spoke to me when I was with him at Allahabad about a fortnight ago—words which are still ringing in my ears. On my remonstrating for his taking part in prolonged discussions at the first meeting of the Congress Working Committee he uttered the following significant words. "If I am ever prevented from service for my country, I would prefer death to such miserable existence". Karmajugin that he was he died working for his country till the last moment of his life. It will be my everlasting regret that the opportunity of resuming his treatment after a few days as arranged by Panditji himself did not arise and I could not serve him till the last moment of his life.

Kaviraj Syamadas Bachaspati.

"As for the duty of the Government to govern I fully agree. But there is the duty of the governed, that is, to secure just government for themselves on principles fully recognised all over the world and to spare no sacrifice, no suffering, however great, to achieve that end."

Pandit Motilal Nehru.

CHAPTER VI

PRESS APPRECIATIONS

[Among the numerous appreciations that appeared in the Press on the occasion of the death of Pandit Motilal, we cull below a few.]

The Daily Herald (*London*)

The methods that Pandit Motilal Nehru and his fellow leaders adopted brought him definitely into a collision with the British Government and the Government of India, but if Pandit Motilal had to be counted as an enemy, he was an enemy who had always not only respect but the warm admiration of those who fought him.

It is tragic that he could not live to see the peaceful realisation of his hopes which he believed to be possible in the very near future.

The Hindusthan Times (*Delhi*)

Pandit Motilal Nehru is no more. He lived the life of a hero and has earned the death of a martyr. Pandit Motilal had achieved all that human ambition could desire—power, wealth, fame and the love, homage and esteem of millions of his countrymen. He had done all that a true soldier of the motherland could do to free his nation from subjection and bondage. His only joy in life was the service of the motherland. He was not afraid of sufferings or death. So far as Pandit Motilal is concerned, he has earned his laurels and has made peace with his Maker. But his death at this critical juncture in the nation's history is a calamity, the true extent of which cannot at present be gauged or expressed. He has left a big gap in the public life of the country which it

would be impossible to fill. Lokamanya Tilak, Chittaranjan Das and Lala Lajpat Rai are some of those who have predeceased him and with whose work his own can bear comparison. Each of them left the country poorer for his loss. India has not found a second Tilak, a second Deshbandhu Das or a second Lajpat Rai. India is not likely to find a second Motilal Nehru. When the history of India's struggle for freedom comes to be written, the name of the Nehru family and of Pandit Motilal Nehru, will find a place, second only to the name of the Gandhi family and Mahatma Gandhi, in respect both of the sacrifices made in the service of the motherland and the contributions made for the uplift of the nation. Pandit Motilal possessed the courage of a lion, the daring of a soldier, the will for suffering of a martyr, the intelligence of a statesman, and the heart of a Prince. He was one of the most successful lawyers of India and commanded a practice which some of the world's greatest lawyers might envy. When Mahatma Gandhi launched his non-co-operation movement, Pandit Motilal, true to the principles he adopted as his own and which he began to preach, spurned his practice at the bar, made a bonfire of all the foreign clothes belonging to himself and to his family, and threw himself headlong into the national struggle. Both he and his illustrious son Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru constituted two of the strongest pillars of the non-co-operation movement. When the movement showed signs of weakness, Pandit Motilal Nehru like a far-seeing statesman, immediately organized the great Swaraj Party in collaboration with the late Deshbandhu Das, to fight the government from within the legislatures. For six years Pandit Motilal remained the Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly and the courage and statesmanship he displayed in guiding his party, won the admiration even of his adversaries. As a debater he had few equals. His logic was incisive. As a Parliamentarian and tactician, his skill and ability kept the treasury benches ever in fear of him.

But the Assembly had no charms for him. He only wanted to use it as a means for carrying on the national fight, and for focussing world public opinion on the national demand. As soon as he found that little was to be gained by such efforts, he spurned his seat in the Assembly and unfurled with Mahatma Gandhi and his own son, Pandit Jawaharlal, the banner of Independence at Lahore. Ever since the 31st of December 1929, the day of the declaration of independence, the only rest Pandit Motilal has known is the one to which eternity has now consigned him. Weak in health and ailing from numerous complaints, night and day he worked for furthering the cause of civil disobedience, knowing full well the serious risks to which he was exposing himself. In June he was imprisoned. The unbearable summer heat and the rigours of jail life told on his already failing health, and his condition became so critical that the government felt it prudent to release him. But the great Motilal was not to recover from this final blow to his health. He is dead. A million people mourn his loss. He is a martyr, richer for his sacrifice. But the nation is poorer in his death. He gave all that he had to his nation, he gave away his practice, his home and finally himself to the motherland. But the greatest and most precious gift of all he has given to India, is his illustrious son Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. To-day every man and woman of India will sympathise with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on whose shoulders the burden of the responsibilities of his father has fallen. The nation's sympathies will go also to Mahatma Gandhi who has lost at this critical juncture one of his most dependable and illustrious colleagues. Above all, the nation will itself have to bear a grief which could not have been more profound, if a country's uncrowned king had died. Pandit Motilal was the uncrowned king of a million hearts. He was the idol of his people. He was one of the most popular and powerful men of his age. It is unfortunate that he did not live to see the object of his life-long sufferings achieved. But by his sacrifices, he has

immortalized himself and his illustrious name will go down in history among the foremost nation-builders of India. He will not be available to the country in deciding the important problems now waiting for solution. But he has shown that by suffering and sacrifice alone, a country can achieve its freedom and birth right. If the present writer is rightly informed, during the last meeting of the Working Committee, he expressed in words which will go down in history as epochmaking, his attitude towards the Round Table Conference. "I am always prepared for an honourable peace" he is reported to have said: "but till there is one drop of Nehru blood in any living child, there will not be and cannot be any surrender."

The Tribune

(Lahore)

The united prayers of a whole country have gone in vain. The mysterious dispensation of an inscrutable providence has removed from the field of his labours one of the greatest Indians of our time and generation at exactly the time when his country stood most in need of his wise guidance and courageous and far-sighted leadership. Fate has in this matter been consistently unkind to this unfortunate country. Tilak died on the very eve of the Special Congress which was to decide the issue of non-co-operation versus the more comprehensive methods of the older nationalism. Deshabandhu Das was taken away at exactly the time when in a famous speech he had raised hopes of a new orientation of Congress policy. Lajpat Rai was removed when his country was in the very thick of the fight for Swaraj and only a short time before she entered on that intensive campaign for the attainment of her birth-right of unfattered freedom in which his services were most needed. Pandit Motilal Nehru was in a sense both more and less fortunate than any of his illustrious co-workers. Alone among them he can be said to have died in sight of the promised land. What the others could only have

foreseen with the eye of faith, he alone was destined to see with his physical eyes. The emancipation of the country for which all four had striven so heroically, so energetically and so single-mindedly, he alone lived to see all but an accomplished fact. And yet here also was the tragedy of his death. For one who had given his all and staked his all on the attainment of his country's freedom what a terrible wrench it was to be snatched away, when the prize for which he had laboured all his life was within sight? The wrench was all the greater in this case because the prize, in order to be worthy of those who had worked so hard for it, had to be made more handsome and more substantial, and because he knew that there was no one in the country who could contribute more to this all-important operation than he.

It cannot, indeed, be denied that the place which Pandit Motilal Nehru occupied in the Congress and in the public life of the country cannot be filled by any other living man. For long years he had been a sort of golden bridge between the old and the new, first between the nationalism of Tilak and the nationalism of Gandhi, then between the non-cooperation of Gandhi and the socialism of his own son. He was the first among India's older leaders to rally round the banner unfurled by the Mahatma. He was also the first to break away from it when he found that it had landed the country in what he justly described as a stalemate. He was, again, the first to return to the Gandhi fold when it was made more comprehensive, and when the movement which he had so valiantly led in the Assembly, as in the Congress, had like the older Gandhi movement led to a *cul-de-sac*. Lastly, he was the first to realise the value of a constructive contribution to the solution of India's constitutional question, and the Nehru report, of which he was the principal author, will for ever remain a monument of his political genius and sagacity. He was perhaps the one man among the great Congress leaders who enjoyed the respectful confidence not only of all Congressmen but of all politically-

minded Indians, and even of the Government. Inferior as he, like all other purely political leaders, was to the Mahatma in saintliness, in personal magnetism and in moral and spiritual force, he was superior to him as a statesman. Among the great Congress leaders of to-day he was perhaps the one man to whom no one, whether in other political parties in the country or among officials, would have denied the title of a statesman of the very first rank. In reality there was a consensus of opinion among all who were in touch with the actual realities of India's politics that if India became free and self-governing during his life-time the choice of the Governor-General for the first Prime Minister would inevitably fall upon him. One great secret of Pandit Motilal's universal popularity was the fact that he was absolutely free from sectarian passion. The party that he led in the Assembly so brilliantly and so successfully was an absolutely non-communal party, and the Muslim members of the party were as devoted to him as the Hindu members. Indeed, we are not aware of any other living Indian leader, whether in the Congress or the country, always excepting the Mahatma, who had so large a political following among members of all communities as Pandit Motilal. To be deprived of such a son is, indeed, an irreparable loss to the Motherland.

But while the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru is mourned by the whole country as a great national calamity, we in the Punjab can claim a greater and more intimate share in this sorrow than any other part of India, not even excepting the part which he adopted as his home. Ever since he first came to this Province as one of its saviours in the fateful days of Martial Law, Pandit Motilal Nehru had been literally the idol of the Punjab. The services which he, along with his life-long friend and comrade, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, rendered to this Province in those days when the Punjab's own leaders were either in prison or away, have never been and can never be forgotten; and his place in the heart of the people

of this Province was next to that of no other man. That he fully reciprocated the love which the Punjab bore him is a matter of common knowledge, and it is the literal truth to say that she never appealed to him in her hour of need in vain. On behalf of the whole of the Punjab we offer our sincere and respectful condolence to the bereaved family, and especially to the devoted lady who for many years had shared all his joys and all his sorrows and to the illustrious son whom the Pandit has left behind him to carry on his work and who is already among India's first men.

The Civil and Military Gazette

(Lahore)

Over ten years ago, on April 9, 1920, Mr. Gandhi launched his non-co-operation campaign which had for its object the nullifying of the political advance granted to India under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and this was to be achieved by the boycott of the new legislatures. The history of the Congress and Mr. Gandhi's agitation is the political life history of Pandit Motilal Nehru. Not a little surprise was felt when the Pandit, who had been a brilliant and very successful lawyer, gave up his practice in the Allahabad High Court, and whose private life had been on the luxurious western model and who at no time could have been considered an agitator, went over to the intrasigant. It has to be admitted that this surprise was somewhat mitigated when it was recalled that Mr. Gandhi's agitation and the 1919 Reforms closely followed the *satyagraha* movement and that the Pandit was eloquent in his condemnation of the Amritsar incident. His later utterances brought him within the purview of the law and he was imprisoned.

Though we have little sympathy with politics of the Pandit, it is of significance to note that his death removes that restraint which he exercised over the irresponsibility of Mr. Gandhi and the practically Communist ardour of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

When the Congress, the mouthpiece of Mr. Gandhi, then as now, decided on the boycott of the legislatures and constituted its Civil Disobedience Committee, which in fact had to consider the question of council entry, it was Pandit Motilal, the late Hakim Ajmal Khan and Mr. V. J. Patel who differed from the views of the other members of the Committee. The birth of the Swaraj Party resulted from this divergency of opinions, and Mr. C. R. Das became its leader with Pandit Motilal as his chief lieutenant in the Legislative Assembly. The Congress was made to subordinate its policy to that of the new party and at its special meeting in Delhi in 1923 gave full approval. Mr. Das's policy was to enter the councils in order to wreck them and so far as the Assembly was concerned he found in Pandit Motilal an ardent and devoted follower, who himself came into full control on the death of his chief. This wrecking policy was faithfully carried out by the Pandit, who lost no opportunity in making every attempt and employing every advantage to embarrass the Government and to make the Reforms a farce. That he did not fully succeed in his designs was no fault of his or the party which he led. And thus the tale proceeds until we come to the fresh agitation against the Simon Commission and the Congress ukase that all who sought elections to the legislatures on its ticket must resign.

The part which he played at the Lahore Congress is more recent history, and it was but recently that in consideration of the parlous state of his health the Government exercised clemency and released the Pandit from jail, he having been imprisoned for abetting the commission of offences under the various Ordinances promulgated by the Viceroy. That Pandit Motilal was the most reasonable of the Congress leaders, not excluding Mr. Gandhi himself, is borne out by reading between the lines of the statement made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in connection with the peace talks that he had been approached by a Congress leader, both in Allahabad and Bombay, to try and effect a rapprochement between the Congress

and the Government, which makes it clear that that leader was the elder Pandit. Though Pandit Motilal had chosen for himself the path of the agitator and wrecker, his death at this momentous juncture is regrettable, for, as we have already stated, if anyone could have brought both Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal to a saner mood and could have persuaded them to abandon all fantastic demands as preliminaries to negotiation and co-operation, that man was Pandit Motilal Nehru.

The People

(Lahore)

Death has dealt India the cruellest blow he could deal to-day. For though in the struggle for India's liberation in the period following upon the war—in Indian terms in the period beginning with the Jallianwalla Massacre—Pandit Motilal was ever in the forefront, and great as his contribution as a front-rank leader during all these years was, India never needed him so badly as it does at this moment. He was *the* man for this moment; and the present was *the* juncture when a man with his peculiar gifts was needed more than anybody else to affix an indelible impress on India's history. As news of his illness having taken a critical turn came during the past several days the present writer often remarked in private talk that though the 'amnesty' was engrossing the attention of the people more than anything else, if the gods granted him a boon of his choice, he would ask for Pandit Motilal's recovery rather than for the release of the fifty thousand in jails.

Never since his entry into active politics after the Punjab Martial law day was he second to any man—excepting the almost superhuman Gandhi—in India's political movement. Before then he was known more as the top lawyer of Allahabad than as a politician. But the galvanizing days of the Rowlatt agitation won him entirely for the movement. He served the Punjab badly bruised by Martial law and laid this

province under an obligation to him which cannot be cancelled. The Punjab indeed must feel the loss even more than other provinces. He served on the committee of inquiry into the Punjab wrong and presided over the Amritsar Congress. At Calcutta when the Congress adopted Mahatma Gandhi's Non-co-operation programme, he went the whole hog, even whilst Lajpat Rai and Chittaranjan Das wavered. But though he was almost the only one of the outstanding older leaders to accept Gandhi's programme, he did not do so as one converted to a dogma. Nature had given him the suppleness needed in politics and throughout in his political career he was guided by practical judgment and not by creeds dogmas. He who would guide a nation's destiny, if he was this instrument in sound condition can venture forth on all uncharted seas. Without this all the charts prepared according to this school or that are of little avail.

It was this freedom from rigid dogmas that enobled Pandit Motilal to give up the orthodox brand of non-co-operation when he found it was leading to stagnation and to found, with C. R. Das, the Swaraj party of which he remained the Assembly leader from the very beginning. He made his mark in the Assembly as few Indians have done. But when again he found the moment had come for a more aggressive programme he bade good-bye to the Assembly to throw himself into the whirlwind campaign of mass civil disobedience. The sacrifices made by himself and his entire family for this movement from one of the brightest chapters of the annals of India's struggle. In fact he came out of the jail doomed to early death and never recovered the health he had lost during his imprisonment.

Motilal knew when to turn to civil disobedience, when to Assembly work, when to drafting a constitution, as a general knows when to order a frontal attack when a flank one, when to bide his time and when to storm the enemy's citadel.

At the bar, in the Assembly, in the Congress—everywhere he was a giant. Leave aside Gandhi, and

there is no doubt he stood head and shoulder above any other leader in India's politics. As a mere politician indeed he was superior in his sense of realities his astute judgment and his grasp of the strategic position, to Gandhi. Nature had cut him out for politics, and for leadership in politics, and it made him particularly strong in the very things in which Gandhi's greatness makes him weak. At a moment like the present when the movement initiated by Gandhi has brought about a situation in which India can turn to practical advantage the sacrifices so far made by her, and when one false step may make an immense amount of sacrifice go waste, no one will be missed so much as Motilal Nehru. His lofty patriotism, his rare sacrifice, his almost unique practical judgment and a force of intellect in affairs that entitled him to a place in the category of geniuses,—and not least his temperamental gifts that sometimes cost him valuable friendships but at others crushed the enemy with cold contempt and made of him a leader that exacts obedience as a matter of right—all these made of Pandit Motilal a figure whose death leaves behind a gap impossible to fill. A whole nation mourns this loss and shares the sorrow with Mrs. Motilal and Pandit Jawharlal and the rest of the bereaved family.

The Statesman

(Calcutta)

By the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru Indian political life becomes distinctly poorer. Of late years he had insisted on being labelled an Extremist and during Mr. Gandhi's agitation ten years ago and again more recently he even forced the Government to put him in prison. Never was there a more unwelcome task. It is of frequent occurrence in India for a fiery young rebel against Government to end either by serving his country in a responsible position or by abandoning politics altogether and wrapping himself in a mantle of contemplation to devote the

remainder of his days to the search for God. Such men as the late Sir Surendra Nath Bannerjea, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal and Mr. Aurobindo Ghose illustrate tendencies which had clearly begun to show themselves in Mr. C. R. Das during the last year of his life. Pandit Motilal Nehru was the inconvenient exception. He on the contrary began public life as a Moderate and he was in every way fitted to interpret the best modern mind of India to Englishmen in India and also to interpret to his countrymen the best aspect of British political idealism for India. He was in truth a very modern man with a keen enquiring intellect, a sceptical philosophy and a man of the world's appreciation of the age in which he lived. Race and breeding showed in every line of a handsome face that in later days became with the beauty of age like an old ivory carving. Above all he had personal charm, easy manners and a warm heart. In consequence he had hosts of English friends and almost certainly in the whole of his life he never made an English enemy. The feelings of his friends when this attractive man suddenly acquired a new political creed and insisted on putting himself on the wrong side of the law can easily be imagined. A fond Edwardian father whose delightful daughter suddenly became a suffragette and broke his windows was perhaps in a similar position. There is a well authenticated story that when the premonitory symptoms were at work but their seriousness not as yet realized Sir Harcourt Butler, the Governor of the United Provinces, laughingly told the Pandit over the dinner table that if he ever went to prison he, Sir Harcourt, would see that he did not go without champagne. Much to his surprise the Governor later found himself compelled to arrest his friend, but he did not forget his word and champagne from the Governor's cellar graced the Pandit's prison meals.

There is an explanation to this conversion of a mellow Moderate already past middle life into an Extremist. It lies in Mr. Gandhi and his son Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Fresh from Harrow and

Cambridge and full of youthful idealism, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was carried away by Mr. Gandhi's influence at the time of the first non-cooperation campaign. Mr. Gandhi's philosophic, economic and ascetic ideas were entirely opposed to Pandit Motilal's and hitherto he had looked upon them with nothing but disfavour. But his father's heart was full of pride and joy in his son and he could resist him in nothing. For a time the son converted him to Gandhism. The Pandit abandoned his wealthy practice at the Bar; he laid aside his smart English clothes and his glistening Irish linen, and put on khaddar, but, be it said, he wore his well-cut khaddar Jodhpores with an air and could not be induced to appear in a dhoti, a garment which made no appeal to him. For a time, too, he may even have supposed himself a permanent convert to all Mr. Gandhi's ideas. But the dominating influence was his son and not Mr. Gandhi. The son retained his personal admiration for the ascetic of Sabarmati, but his belief in the efficacy of some of his ideas waned and new influences began to capture his still youthful enthusiasm. The elder Pandit was able to join Mr. C. R. Das in a break away and he entered the Legislative Assembly where he soon became both an outstanding figure and a universal favourite. He sat on the Sandhurst Committee and he joined the British Empire Parliamentary Union, and three years ago he accepted the Assembly's choice that he should lead a delegation to the Congress of Empire Parliaments in Canada, a journey which however he was unable to perform. Side by side with these developments went his son's drift to Communism, and for his son's sake he even visited Moscow. Finally, a new combination between Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal arose. Their ideas remained divergent in important particulars, but for purposes of anti-governmental action Mr. Gandhi's influence with the masses and the younger Nehru's power in the youth movement were harnessed together. Once again the father followed the son. For his

remainder of his days to the search for God. Such men as the late Sir Surendra Nath Bannerjia, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal and Mr. Aurobindo Ghose illustrate tendencies which had clearly begun to show themselves in Mr. C. R. Das during the last year of his life. Pandit Motilal Nehru was the inconvenient exception. He on the contrary began public life as a Moderate and he was in every way fitted to interpret the best modern mind of India to Englishmen in India and also to interpret to his countrymen the best aspect of British political idealism for India. He was in truth a very modern man with a keen enquiring intellect, a sceptical philosophy and a man of the world's appreciation of the age in which he lived. Race and breeding showed in every line of a handsome face that in later days became with the beauty of age like an old ivory carving. Above all he had personal charm, easy manners and a warm heart. In consequence he had hosts of English friends and almost certainly in the whole of his life he never made an English enemy. The feelings of his friends when this attractive man suddenly acquired a new political creed and insisted on putting himself on the wrong side of the law can easily be imagined. A fond Edwardian father whose delightful daughter suddenly became a suffragette and broke his windows was perhaps in a similar position. There is a well authenticated story that when the premonitory symptoms were at work but their seriousness not as yet realized Sir Harcourt Butler, the Governor of the United Provinces, laughingly told the Pandit over the dinner table that if he ever went to prison he, Sir Harcourt, would see that he did not go without champagne. Much to his surprise the Governor later found himself compelled to arrest his friend, but he did not forget his word and champagne from the Governor's cellar graced the Pandit's prison meals.

There is an explanation to this conversion of a mellow Moderate already past middle life into an Extremist. It lies in Mr. Gandhi and his son Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Fresh from Harrow and

Cambridge and full of youthful idealism, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was carried away by Mr. Gandhi's influence at the time of the first non-co-operation campaign. Mr. Gandhi's philosophic, economic and ascetic ideas were entirely opposed to Pandit Motilal's and hitherto he had looked upon them with nothing but disfavour. But his father's heart was full of pride and joy in his son and he could resist him in nothing. For a time the son converted him to Gandhism. The Pandit abandoned his wealthy practice at the Bar; he laid aside his smart English clothes and his glistening Irish linen, and put on khaddar, but, be it said, he wore his well-cut khaddar Jodhpores with an air and could not be induced to appear in a dhoti, a garment which made no appeal to him. For a time, too, he may even have supposed himself a permanent convert to all Mr. Gandhi's ideas. But the dominating influence was his son and not Mr. Gandhi. The son retained his personal admiration for the ascetic of Sabarmati, but his belief in the efficacy of some of his ideas waned and new influences began to capture his still youthful enthusiasm. The elder Pandit was able to join Mr. C. R. Das in a break away and he entered the Legislative Assembly where he soon became both an outstanding figure and a universal favourite. He sat on the Sandhurst Committee and he joined the British Empire Parliamentary Union, and three years ago he accepted the Assembly's choice that he should lead a delegation to the Congress of Empire Parliaments in Canada, a journey which however he was unable to perform. Side by side with these developments went his son's drift to Communism, and for his son's sake he even visited Moscow. Finally, a new combination between Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal arose. Their ideas remained divergent in important particulars, but for purposes of anti-governmental action Mr. Gandhi's influence with the masses and the younger Nehru's power in the youth movement were harnessed together. Once again the father followed the son. For his

sake he rejected the Viceroy's offer of that very Round Table Conference which in the Assembly he had been so vigorously demanding, and in the closing passages of his life he seemed prepared to reject even the Nehru Report. He did not follow the familiar Indian evolution which leads to Conservatism in age, because he had given his heart to youth. It was a generous heart, and there can be none who does not regret that it is stilled.

"An Indian Contributor" in the "Statesman"

The number of sincere and ardent workers in the field of the Congress politics is large, but the whole world knows that the Nehrus, father and son, and Mahatma Gandhi were the guiding spirits. Of the trio Motilal's was the brain, Mahatma's the idealism and Jawaharlal's the dash. The brain power has vanished just at the moment when its presence was essentially necessary. Who is there to supply the gap? And what will the fate of the country be if there is none to fill it? The misfortune of India has always been that her worthiest son is taken away at the crucial moment. Mr. C. R. Das, who took courage in both hands and chalked out a new path for the uplift of the country, was snatched away before he could give full effect to his ideas. The death of Maulana Mohammed Ali is another instance in point and now comes the blow of the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru. The whole country has been hoping that the sobering influence of Panditji would effectively put a check to the idealism of the Saint of Sabarnati and the restlessness of his son but that influence can no longer be exercised. "Unfortunate India!"

The Amrita Bazar Patrika

(Calcutta)

The body was unwilling to release the soul and the soul was unwilling to leave the body. Never was

there a nobler soul, never a braver body. They have parted at last, as they had to. "I shall not die till India has achieved freedom." These words on the death-bed, more eloquent than any words could be, expressed the spirit of the man, who, a fighter all his life, had been fighting against death with that courage, perseverance and cheerfulness that marked his renowned leadership. Pt. Motilal is no more! The words will reverberate through the length and breadth of India and in lands beyond the seas. The mind will call forth the vision of the man and his snow-capped head, leading and counselling his countrymen in their struggle for Swaraj. His ripe wisdom, his clear vision, his fearlessness, will no longer be at the service of the nation. His wonderful personality, strong as rock yet amiable, which attracted to him friends and foes, will be missed at this crisis of the nation's history. He was a general and a statesman both. He was the General Botha of war and had he lived a little longer he would have been the General Smuts of peace. Our countrymen resorted to him as children do to their father. He nestled them on his breast. He comforted them, encouraged them, shared with them their sorrows. He might have, had he cared, lived to the end of his life like a Prince with all the joys that men can bestow. Who could be a prouder or happier man than the father who had a Jawaharlal for his son? He had wealth earned by his talents. He had everything for himself to make him happy and comfortable. He had, when he came to the fight, attained an age when men, even in better climes, retire with honour and without blame. All the blessings of life he had. But he threw them all away. For whom and for what? For the country and the cause he had made his own. As he came more and more in the struggle, and got more and more hits, his spirit rose more and more, till the climax was reached when he sacrificed not only himself but one and all that was near and dear to him. The sacrifice of the Nehru family passed into a

proverb. Man lives and man dies, families thrive and families decay, but the sacrifice of the Nehru family with the venerable patriarch at the head will ever blazen forth in the immortal pages of history.

Father and patriarch, you are gone. And our tears will never go dry. You have given us your all. But what have we given you? The presidentship of the Indian National Congress was too small a prize for you. We had cherished the hope that in the fullness of time, not very distant, on your brows will rest the laurels of the glorious fight for freedom which you have done so much to win. At this moment when we required, above anything else, your ripe wisdom and your skilful lead you have left us!

But we do not complain. A fighter all his life he has died the death of a warrior. The crown he has left for the young, the scars he has taken for himself. His death at this moment calls to the mind that of another, younger in years and whom the venerable Panditji had accepted as his leader—as an object-lesson in discipline. Deshbandhu's end came with the virtual death of Dyarchy in Bengal. That institution never recovered from the blow, or series of blows that it had received from his hands. Even its friends damned it and hastened its end. The first phase of the struggle ended and Deshbandhu's life was also ended. That was a turning point in the political history of the nation. A second phase of the struggle began with the leadership of the great leader whose death the nation mourns to-day and of Mahatma Gandhi. A breach has been effected in the very citadel of the bureaucracy, the Central Government. They say that the struggle is practically at an end; the goal is not only within sight but within reach. We do not know. But we know this that another and a great turning point has been reached and our second great General lays down his life.

To-day he goes to the life beyond amid the lamentations of a nation, but his spirit will live in the spirit of the nation and let us hope that the day is not far

distant when his life's mission will stand completely fulfilled and his countrymen will meet to celebrate the occasion and pour out the gratitude of their hearts to his sacred memory.

The Advance

(Calcutta)

The whole country was deeply moved as for days it watched from far and near the gallant and uncompromising struggle with Death of Pandit Motilal Nehru. The struggle ended on Friday morning. As the Sun was just breaking through the horizon and lighting up the terraces of Lucknow, the sturdy and capacious soul passed away throwing a whole nation into voiceless mourning. No sooner had the news reached Calcutta than almost all work stopped, the schools and colleges closed and a hartal followed. The whole city presented the appearance of a life paralysed. In the afternoon the citizens, assembled in Sradhananda Park, paid in silence their homage to the great departed leader. In all this one could see that the message which the late Panditji had taught had gone home to his people, viz, the message of spontaneous respect for and trust in those who lead them in the struggle for Freedom. Yes, the country held Pandit Motilal Nehru in the highest respect and reposed in him absolute trust. They felt in their heart of hearts that here was a man who could be loved but not trifled with; who would fight the enemy up to the last ditch and would not demand of his colleagues and followers any sacrifice for which he himself was not prepared.

Himself he made the greatest sacrifice of which a man is capable. Pandit Motilal Nehru laid down his life for his country. Used to a life of luxury, he went through the hard discipline of the prison. Out of it he denied himself the comforts and amenities which had grown into a second nature with him. The call to lead the Congress movement in person came to him in the month of May when he was in Agra con-

ducting a case for which he had been specially retained. Panditji heard the call, threw himself into the thick of the fight and was flung into prison on the first of July. He came out on the 8th of September shattered in health, and his doctors thought, almost beyond repair. Shattered in health but not broken in spirit. From his headquarters, his death-bed, he keenly watched the battle on all the fronts and directed the movements of the leaders and workers. Of him it may, indeed, be said as of very few, that he died in harness.

Panditji lived a great life, fought a great fight and has died a great death. Born to lead he led wherever he found himself. Whether at the Bar, or on the floor of the Assembly, or at the deliberations of the Congress and the Swarajya Party, wherever he appeared, he left his mark. His directness and sincerity disarmed those who differed from him. His wit and humour brightened up the most tired of faces. His singleness of purpose and noiseless energy put faith and enthusiasm into all doubters. The Report which he drew up for the All-Parties Conference will endure as a testimony of his will to peace and unity. An uncompromising fighter, a selfless patriot, Pandit Motilal Nehru has verily offered himself a sacrifice on the altar of Freedom, while to the nation he has left a priceless legacy in his son who will continue the struggle which he began in 1920 with Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das and Mahatma Gandhi. To Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his mother and the other members of the family the nation offers its deepest condolences. The whole country mourns with them the passing away of Pandit Motilal Nehru and would fain share with them in spirit their sufferings in the cause of the motherland.

The Liberty (Calcutta)

It is disastrous—the passing away of Pandit Motilal. Seldom has death counted a more princely

toll. Seldom has a greater calamity, more distressing, more devastating, befallen a people. That pride of life which scorned pity and decay, that determination which breathed defiance at fear and defeat is no more. Pandit Motilal is no more. Death has overpowered the flesh that was weak, when the spirit was yet brave and would conquer.

Of the great race of the makers of history, Pandit Motilal took upon himself to fashion the life and destinies of the people around him in the mould of greatness that he conceived and realised. The stage on which he set his life and his thought was comprehensive. And its greatness was like the greatness of a great architecture. Intellectual illumination gave it form and beauty. It was precise. It was perfect. And the precision gave his thought and his outlook a grandeur like that of the gaunt, bare mountain top. There could be nothing petty about him—no haziness, no lukewarmness. He hated being cramped. He loved life—full and free and unfettered. Out of the dullness of life, out of its richness did he seek to fashion the life of his people. His patriotism was a measure of mental and intellectual conviction. It was the love of life and of greatness consecrated. His faith was an essay in realisation. His conviction gave him his power over his people and his easy way of meeting his adversaries. It was his strength in the fight that he loved.

Who can forget the fury of the convinced patriot crying his defiance at misused authority on the blood-soaked earth of agonised Punjab? Who can forget the valiant fighter mercilessly assailing the pretensions and hypocrisies of unjust authority? Pandit Motilal did not pity weakness in any quarter; and he hated being favoured. With a pride that comes so easy to a strength of conviction and an aristocracy of culture, he scorned frowns, and forsook the privileges that go with power, and the power that privileges give. He loved freedom—because it was his right to be free; freedom is a tribute of the greatness he conceived. Nothing oppressed him so much as

the nightmare of patronage, of privileges and of the poverty of life. The vision of India free has eluded his grasp in life. He leaves it—still a vision, though not a distant vision—to be realised by a grateful, sorrow-laden people. He has joined the band of the Immortals—the Lokmanya and the Deshbandhu; and his soul will watch the griefs and sorrows of a bereaved people and bless their efforts to win the fight which he planned, led and almost won.

The Bengalee

(Calcutta)

The death of Pandit Motilal Nehru removes from our midst one of the most outstanding figures in Indian politics to-day. His sacrifices for the cause of his country and the devotion with which he served her, have endeared his name to every Indian irrespective of caste, creed or even political difference. What makes his death more tragic is that it should have occurred at this particular time when his counsel would have been of extraordinary value both to his colleagues and his countrymen. That in his old age and in poor health, he should have felt it necessary to court imprisonment shows how he counted no sacrifice too great for the attainment of the freedom of his country. And now when the fearful trip is over and the ship is fairly within sight of the harbour, on the deck the captain lies fallen, cold and dead. It is a tragedy too deep for tears. His only son, Pandit Jawaharlal will have the consolation that a whole nation shares with him his grief at the passing away of one of India's noblest sons.

The Calcutta Municipal Gazette

(Calcutta)

As we go to press comes the melancholy news of the passing away of Pandit Motilal Nehru, one of the greatest of political leaders India has produced in modern times.

A prince among men has fallen ; the passion for freedom has consumed his physical frame. The worker has been spirited away before his work was finished. What high inscrutable purpose there may lie behind it He alone knows Who shapes our ends.

No service was too exacting, no sacrifice too great for the cause he made his own. He had seen a vision—a vision of a free and liberated India—and every hour of his life since, waking or asleep, it was calling unto him to go forward and strive for its fulfilment.

It is a death which is the envy of mortals. Like Dadhichi of the *Yajur*, Pandit Motilal has given his bones, and if we his countrymen can make thunderbolt of them, his sacrifice and sufferings will not go in vain.

We salute his soul again and again ; may his spirit, from its place among the immortals, guide us and inspire us and show us light in the darkness of despair that overwhelms us to-day.

The Leader (*Allahabad*)

The sad news of the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru will cast a gloom over the whole country. All his life he was a fighter and with characteristic strength of will he even fought Death itself. Though his mighty spirit has thrown off its mortal coil, his immense sacrifices in the cause of his country's freedom, his great sincerity of purpose, his indomitable courage and untiring energy and lofty patriotism will for long be a source of inspiration to his countrymen. He was a tower of strength to the national cause, and he has been taken away by Providence, whose ways are inscrutable, at a time when his mature judgment, penetrating intellect and exalted patriotism were most needed for dealing with problems of extraordinary complexity. We can think of no one in the Congress who can replace him adequately and

none, in a public sense, will feel his loss more grievously than Mahatma Gandhi who attached the highest value to his political judgment. Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru were in a sense complementary to each other. The one represented the soul and the other the brain of the national movement. Pandit Motilal Nehru in spite of the fact that he had reached the allotted span of three score and ten, remarkably preserved his physical and mental vigour. It could not be said of him that he was past work. This fact will add keenness to the edge of public sorrow for his loss.

His political career has a lesson to teach to those who have had the shaping of the destiny of this country in their hands. They have by their short-sighted and reactionary policy, their disregard of public opinion and opposition to nationalist aspirations, and their encouragement of the halt, the lame and the blind, alienated many of the finest spirits in the land and raised enormous forces of discontent. Convinced in their conceit of their own infallibility and righteousness they have held educated Indian leaders responsible for the growth of disaffection. If they but dispassionately study the life of Pandit Motilal Nehru and his public utterances during momentous periods in the recent history of the country they will perhaps realize where the principal responsibility lies for the existing state of affairs. As the extracts from his speeches which we publish elsewhere will show, he was in the beginning of his political career one of the most moderate and responsible of Indian leaders. His admiration for British character and his faith in Government's goodness and Britain's righteousness was unbounded. He was one of the promoters of Newspapers Limited which owns the Leader and which was founded to fight reaction on one side and extremism on the other, and was its first chairman. Hard experience brought about a progressive change in him, and he was converted from a die-hard constitutionalist into an ardent direct actionist. There might have been other contri-

butory causes, but the fundamental change in his outlook is largely traceable to acts and policies of Government which drove into opposition many an eminent Indian, among whom is Mahatma Gandhi himself. And yet we believe, in spite of his apparent extremism, Pandit Motilal Nehru continued to be a moderate at heart. And there are many like him in the Congress whose heart yearns for peace and who would be found ready for a just and reasonable settlement.

Pandit Motilal possessed many great qualities. In addition to his uncommon intellectual gifts, he possessed remarkable qualities of leadership. His businesslike methods, masterful personality and concentrated earnestness of purpose made him a successful leader and organiser. In spite of his autocratic temperament, which was a part of his strong and decisive nature, he knew how to handle men. If he was a great and able fighter as a lawyer, he was a formidable foe as a politician. With these qualities he combined a spirit of sacrifice which was remarkably demonstrated when he gave up his lucrative practice, devoted himself whole-heartedly to the cause of the country and courted imprisonment during the non-cooperation days. It is not surprising that endowed with such high qualities and with a splendid record of self-sacrificing public service he should have become the idol of the people. Twice he was elected President of the great national organisation. His first election followed the great services he rendered to the oppressed people of the Punjab in exposing the atrocities committed during the martial law regime and helping them in their hour of suffering. His address at the Amritsar Congress principally dealt with the two burning topics of the day, the Punjab outrages and the Reforms Act. His view with regard to the latter was that although it fell short of the minimum demands made by the Congress they should make the most of what they had got. He appealed to the Congressmen "to work the new Reforms, utilize them for the betterment of the country

and continue to press and agitate for our full demand." With true political foresight, however, he opposed the Ordinance-making power of the Governor-General. "I cannot reconcile myself to the idea" he said, "that a single individual, be he the wisest and most responsible man on earth, should be invested, even in an emergency, with the power to enact laws affecting a fifth of the human race". His presidential address at the Calcutta Congress in 1928 bore testimony to his political foresight. He declared that 'again we are on the threshold of another great struggle for freedom'. Reviewing the political situation he made 'a plain matter of fact statement from a plain matter of fact man of the world as it is, and not the world as it should be'. He contended that pure idealism completely divorced from realities had no place in politics and is but a happy dream which must sooner or later end in a rude awakening. He emphasised that 'false analogies from other countries can only help to confuse the 'issues'. The police high-handedness attending the progress of the Simon Commission appeared to him 'symptomatic of grave organic defect and not merely of the well-known functional incapacity of the Government. Referring to the warnings of indefinite repression indulged in by the Anglo-Indian press he declared 'that there can be nothing better than "resolute government" at this juncture to bring matters to a head. He pointed out that coercive methods defeated their own purpose but 'the bureaucracy had little use for lessons of 'history.' As regards the demand for 'complete independence' voiced at the Madras session of the Congress he said: 'I am for complete independence—as complete as it can be—but I am not against full Dominion Status—as full as any Dominion possesses it today—provided I get it before it loses all attractions.' He forecasted that there was nothing before the country but a protracted life-and-death struggle on the one side, and 'continued repression relieved by an occasional dose of undiluted oppression on the other,' for he believed 'only when

complete independence is in sight that the party in power will be inclined to negotiate for something less. Solid and ungrudging sacrifice alone will do it.' 'The truth is,' he further said, 'that we cannot get anything from England except by proving our strength.' He concluded by pleading for the acceptance of the constitution outlined in the All-Parties Report which was based on the principle of the highest common agreement. He thus stood out as the great apostle of national unity. He strongly criticised the narrow communalists and declared that 'religion has been degraded and politics has sunk into the mire.'

After the collapse of the great non-cooperation movement started by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920, he in conjunction with Mr. C. R. Das and a number of other Congress leaders raised what was called the standard of revolt, effectively disposed of the demand for the starting of mass civil disobedience movement by declaring, after an all-India tour of enquiry, that the country was not ripe for it, and by organising the Swaraj party, lifting the boycott of the legislatures and capturing the majority of the seats in many of them turned what looked like a route of the Congress into victory. No doubt the organisation of the Swaraj party created acute dissensions within the Congress, but it is undoubted that the sweeping success of the Swarajist candidates at the elections enhanced in the popular eye the prestige of the Congress and demonstrated what a great hold this organisation had acquired on the masses. It showed that he was a master of political strategy, was endowed with hard commonsense, could adapt himself to circumstances and was not overweighed with considerations of consistency.

The sessions of the Congress held since Mahatma Gandhi came on the political stage and captured its machinery were marked by increasing internal dissensions and the emergence of various groups striving for power. The most notable of these were the 'pro-changers' and the 'no-changers'. The party of independence made its existence felt first at the Madras

Congress and triumphed at the Lahore Congress. At Lahore the centre and the left wings of the Congress coalesced and passed a resolution in favour of the starting of the civil disobedience movement. This session was preceded by the walk-out of the Swarajists from the legislatures, although many of them strongly disapproved of the decision for the boycott of the legislatures. Pandit Motilal Nehru, owing to indifferent health did not take an active part in the campaign of civil disobedience which was started by Mahatma Gandhi, but when the call of duty came he responded with alacrity and was imprisoned. While in jail the condition of his health became so alarming that he was released. He did not regain his normal health after coming out, and in spite of the best available medical aid and careful nursing his condition grew steadily worse. He has at last succumbed to his ailments and the great leader who was ever in the vanguard in the battle of freedom is no more. He wanted to live to see India free. But he was not spared to witness the fruition of his selfless labours and sacrifices and the fulfilment of his heart's desire. May his soul rest in peace. To Mrs. Motilal Nehru and his son Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other members of his family we offer our respectful condolence in their great bereavement. Their poignant grief will be shared by the whole country.

The Pioneer

(Allahabad)

The death of Pandit Motilal Nehru will be mourned by people of all classes and communities in India, and they will join whole-heartedly the Viceroy and Lady Irwin in extending their deep sympathy to the members of the bereaved family. The tributes, which have been pouring in from all quarters from Indians and Europeans, from political opponents as well as colleagues eloquently demonstrate the wide-spread respect in which the late Pandit was held. Testimony has been forthcoming from many sources to the

brilliant ability and loveable qualities of Motilal Nehru, notably from the Bench and the Allahabad High Court, who are probably in position than anyone else to estimate his worth. Sir Grimwood Mears was indulging in no exaggeration when he said that Pandit Motilal Nehru left behind a great reputation in that court and that his name will be one of its proud traditions.

In the course of his remarkable career, the political opinions of Pandit Motilal Nehru underwent many puzzling changes. In his early days he was an admirer of British rule and he had great faith in Parliament as the "final arbiter of India's destinies." There was never any question of Pandit Motilal Nehru's great love for his country and that he made great sacrifices for his convictions. The recognition which had been accorded to him as an outstanding political leader had been gained in spite of the fact that he was an intellectual rather than a demagogue, who sought popularity and cheap applause. But many of his best friends and the greatest admirers of his gifts deeply regretted and could never understand why when the British Government were most favourably disposed towards India and was engaged in developing a great and comprehensive scheme of reforms calculated to give all that he had so staunchly fought for Pandit Motilal Nehru should have become an apostle of revolution. The grief felt at his death by many of his friends will be intensified because they had hoped that had he survived and had had the health and strength, he would at the present critical juncture have exercised a moderating influence in the counsels of his political colleagues and that he would later have brought to bear his great abilities on the working of the new constitution.

The Hindu.

(*Madras*)

The news of the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru will come with almost the violence of a personal

bereavement to every Indian home. The sense of the national loss is not the less poignant because the daily bulletins about the inexorable progress of the disease had in a way prepared the country for the worst. Motilal was not merely the greatest of our older statesmen, but at no time in our history has the need for such wise guidance as he could give been so urgent and indispensable. The sorrow and suffering that he so cheerfully faced in the cause of the country were deeply uncongenial to one who had led a princely life and undermined a health never robust and thereby hastened the end. Barely a few days before his passing he is reported to have told a friend, "I am not afraid of death and I have had enough of life, but I am determined to live till I have seen the birth of a Free India." Death, alas, has won—and that is his country's misfortune; indeed there seems to be a fatality dogging her footsteps, which has snatched away some of her ablest and most devoted sons in the critical moments of her struggle for freedom. But such an optimism was in every way characteristic of the man—his Roman fortitude, the zest with which he enjoyed the good things of this life, the deliberate resolve with which he put them aside when the vision splendid of a free India came to him, and the indomitable spirit that sustained him to the last in the hope of seeing that vision realised, though the frail body was visible crumbling day by day. Great in life he was not less great in death.

Motilal has many claims to the proud and grateful remembrance of his countrymen. He was a great advocate, a brilliant tactician, an unrivalled political organiser and he commanded the allegiance of the intelligentsia in a measure unequalled by any other statesman of recent times with the exception of Tilak. He had, too, that rare social charm which is the index of a native aristocracy of soul and which no political vicissitude can quench. But the quality that one prized most in him was the fundamental sanity and breadth of his outlook. He had the truly international mind. It was not the shallow cosmopolitanism

of the clever idler who finds in it a refuge from irresponsibility. Nor was it the pretentious idealism with which *blue* politicians are wont to while away a holiday stay at Geneva. He was a man to whom knowledge of the workings of the European mind came naturally; and the European in his turn could understand him whereas he was merely puzzled or distracted by the uncompromising vision of a Gandhi or the volcanic emotionalism of a Das. He could play their own game as easily as the best of them and beat them at long odds. And the heat of the fray left no grudge or bitterness in his heart. Few of those Englishmen to whom it fell to cross swords with him in the Assembly would, we fancy, deny this or that he was undoubtedly the greatest Parliamentarian that India has so far produced. When she is on the eve of changes which are likely to usher in the reality of Parliamentary Government and not its semblance how great is the loss she has sustained in his death may well be imagined. Even more tragic does it become when we consider that in the difficult days ahead, when a false step may dispel all chances of an honourable settlement or plunge the country in a struggle of which no one can foresee the end, we shall miss his sage counsel, the pervasive influence of his urbane personality, his enviable gift of establishing contacts, and the steady fire of his patriotism. Many and great have been his gifts to his Motherland; not the least of them is a son of whom the country is justly proud.

The Swarajya

(*Madras*)

Pandit Motilal Nehru passed at 6 this morning. The news will be received with profound grief and consternation throughout the country. At the critical juncture in national fortunes, the passing away of this great patriot creates a void which cannot easily be filled for a long time to come. It is impossible to speak of Pandit Motilal Nehru without deep emo-

tion. For, along with Desabandhu Das, he furnishes supreme example of the splendid sacrifice which, it is the pride of the movement initiated by Gandhiji to have evolved from out of the lives of men born and bred up in the lap of luxury. The extent of this sacrifice towers above every other of the numerous manifestations of greatness which enriched and sanctified Panditji's eventful life. He has left his mark as a great lawyer, a powerful debater, and a singularly able and gifted party leader, but we believe the most monumental and lasting expression of the regard and homage of his countrymen will be founded on the energy and fearlessness which he imparted to Congress politics moulding out of it the magnificent fighting organisation which it has become to-day. Pandit Motilal has been the standard-bearer of national self-respect whenever it received its most grievous injury. His very first emergence into active political warfare is a revelation of the essential character of the man. When the whole of the Punjab was cowed down by the terrors of the martial law regime, Panditji braved official opposition and almost at the risk of life, became the protector of the stricken province. When the late Lord Birkenhead superciliously flaunted his gibe about Indian incapacity to get together an agreed constitution, Pandit Motilal instantaneously set to work, and within the close of the year, the Nehru report was ready. When the insufferable insult of the Simon enquiry was hurled against the nation, Pandit Motilal and his family made history in India about the power and potentiality of the people's will. From whichever quarter the challenge came, the guardianship of national honour has been maintained with alertness and capacity by Pandit Motilal. But perhaps the greatest tribute to his patriotism and public spirit is evidenced in the marvellous manner in which he has been able to refashion a naturally aristocratic temperament to the necessities of democratic leadership. He was one of the Titans of our public life in this generation and the force he put into the struggle for Swaraj is incalculable. We are

averse to think that the cause of Swaraj will suffer by his passing away. For it is the quality of the great that their memory speaks with no less eloquence when they are gone than that of their own words and deeds when they are alive.

The Bombay Chronicle

(Bombay)

Pandit Motilal Nehru is dead. So overwhelming is the loss that it is impossible to realise that the great leader is dead. The last ten years and more will be remembered by generations of Indians to come as the most epoch-making period of India's history—the period of her unique struggle for freedom, a new freedom ensuring a future for her more glorious than her past. Pandit Motilal played during this period a role only less dominant than that of Mahatma Gandhi. No patriot could desire a destiny more enviable than this. The loss that the country has sustained by the death of such an outstanding figure is so immense that it is difficult to make an adequate estimate of it in the language of the commonplace. During the last ten years India has mourned the death of five dynamic personalities—Tilak, Das, Ajmal Khan, Lala Lajpatrai and Mahomed. Ali—whose services and sacrifices have made the present struggle and the prospect of honourable victory possible. Pandit Motilal Nehru occupied an honourable place in the ranks of these leaders and his contribution to the success of India's cause was the largest and most effective.

He was endowed with many gifts. A self-sacrificing patriot, an intrepid fighter, a masterful statesman and, above all, an unfailing friend of the poor, he was the embodiment of the qualities of a true aristocrat in an age which professes but does not practise democracy. The story of his heroic sacrifice—the abandonment of a princely practice was the least part of it—will never be forgotten by generations of his fellow-countrymen. He died at a ripe age, but there

is no doubt that his death was hastened by the suffering that imprisonment, which he cheerfully underwent, involved. As a fighter he never flinched, however heavy the odds against him, and it was his unrivalled courage that had no little share in stimulating the efforts of the country in this last struggle for freedom. His masterful statesmanship was displayed in the efficient organisation and consummate leadership of the Swaraj Party and in the preparation of the famous Nehru Report, which though scrapped for the time being, is a historic document and will form the basis of India's constitution. That his judgment of men and affairs was unerring was demonstrated on many an occasion, but most strikingly when he, to the surprise of not a few of his intimate associates, helped Gandhiji in formulating the decision which the Lahore Congress endorsed. There were then many who doubted whether the country would make an adequate response to the call of the Lahore Congress. Pandit Motilal was emphatically not one of them and no one was a stouter and more confident supporter of Mahatma Gandhi than Pandit Motilal when the former commenced his memorable march last year. He expected great things from his Nation and it magnificently justified his expectation. Though his longing to see his country free in his life-time was not realised, he died a happy death in the consciousness that his countrymen had, by their sacrifices, assured the attainment of that freedom. No warrior could desire a happier death.

The "Evening News of India", writes:—

"Though he was in the thick of the 1930 Civil Disobedience campaign he was never a fire-brand nor was he entirely uncompromising. Truly can it be said of him that he gave to the mob what was meant for Parliament."

There could be no greater liabel of the departed leader than is contained in the last sentence. For, the ruling passion of his life was an unbounded love

of the poor and it was because he realised that the woes of India's poverty-stricken millions could not be ended without freeing the country from foreign domination that he took part in, and for several months led, the Civil Disobedience Movement. Jawaharlal—Pandit Motilal's greatest gift to his Nation—is justly regarded as the leader of India's Youth. But how very few of us realise that a greater leader of India's Youth was Pandit Motilal himself, who though old in age, never lost the spirit of Youth. It was this spirit of Youth in him—the constructive adaptability to circumstances which characterised his political career—that made the Lahore decision and all the glory that followed it possible. His loss is not irreparable, for he will continue to live in the hearts of India's young men and women who guided by the lesson of his life and led by Mahatma Gandhi, will accomplish the purpose in whose service he died fighting. His death coming so soon as it does after that of Tilak, Des, Ajmal Khan, Lala Lajpatrai and Mahomed Ali, is a challenge to India's Youth to count no sacrifice too great in carrying on the struggle so that their country becomes free before Death claims any of the few great leaders who survive him whose loss the country mourns to-day as deeply as his illustrious family.

The Weekly Herald

(Bombay)

The death of Pandit Motilal coming at a moment, when the country he served with unrelenting devotion and self-sacrifice is engaged in a struggle of unparalleled magnitude and gravity is a tragedy which it is impossible to measure in terms. India has produced many great men in the present generation, sterling patriots who have sacrificed all that a man can give for the cause of freedom,—spiritual peace, physical health, material wealth and social happiness—men like Deshbandu Das, Lala Lajpat

Rai, and Maulana Mahomed Ali, to whom everything was of secondary importance, indeed, of far inferior consideration, to the one great cause of all. Motilal will live in the memory of India as of equal rank with the greatest of these, who have all literally died in the service of their country. In other countries men like he may rise to pre-eminence and fame in the political sphere and pass away amid the mourning plaudits of their fellow countrymen after having lived lives of what might almost be described as leisured ease and luxury compared to the existence that an Indian nationalist leader has to face when he throws himself into the country's service. When Motilal Nehru decided that his country's call was greater than any other interest he could have in life he, like the majority of his great contemporaries, had to realise that service for his country, if it was to be true and sincere, meant uncompromising self-abnegation.

The great change in his life came when the atrocious martial law regime in the Punjab, following on the sacrifices made by India in a war which was ostensibly fought for the freedom of the weak and oppressed peoples, revealed to him, as it did to the majority of his countrymen, that, if India was ever to win the freedom that is her birthright, it could only be by her own unaided efforts and sacrifice and not by looking for freedom to come by slow stages as a gift from the oppressor. He faced the issue with the courage that was characteristic of him in all he did and threw himself in to the fray with the energy, determination and intellectual brilliance that had previously brought him into such unparalleled eminence at the Bar. When he joined the Non-cooperation movement in 1920 Motilal Nehru surrendered a princely income, abandoned a life of splendour that was the wonder and envy of his contemporaries, and took to khaddar and simplicity and invited imprisonment with unostentatious sincerity. He was not alone. There were many others who made sacrifices, which if not equal in magnitude were proportionately as great. But that does not detract

from the example of selfless devotion to the country's cause which Motilal Nehru's abandonment of all the things in life he had hitherto cared for, in order to serve it, any the less magnificent.

Since Pandit Motilal first became a Non-cooperator, after many years of mild participation in politics as a Moderate, the national struggle in India has passed through phases which have brought him from time to time in conflict with many Congressmen. There are still many who believe that the new policy of Council entry, which he and Deshbandu Das inaugurated after their release from jail, did little if anything to benefit the nation and involved a definite set-back to the movement in the country. Certainly the period during which Pandit Motilal was leading the opposition in the Assembly was one of comparative inertia in the country with one half or more of the supporters of the Congress standing gloomily and suspiciously aloof from the men whom Mahatma Gandhi had left to carry on the battle in their own way, though it was not his way and he never approved of though he did not actively oppose it. The fact was, that Pandit Motilal, though his sincerity and sterling patriotism were not to be questioned, never actually lost his moderate mentality. He remained a Moderate in essential principles though he became an Extremist in methods, because he recognised that nothing would ever be gained by the old methods and he was deeply moved by the Punjab atrocities. It is doubtful whether the Lahore resolution came within his convictions. He believed to a large extent in the attainment of full Swaraj by stages and in the Nehru constitution, which was practically his own individual effort, he showed that he was prepared to wait for a transitionary period during which India would neither be mistress of her own defence nor of the conduct of her foreign relations. But he loyally followed the Congress when events made the further pursuit of a policy which met the British Government halfway a futile quest. And he accepted all the im-

plications of the Lahore resolution and threw himself into the Civil Disobedience movement despite his weakening health, with all his old energy and fighting spirit.

That his life was shortened by the strenuousness of the activities of the last ten years and especially the strain of the last ten months is undoubted. He went into jail a sick man, in a condition and at an age, when the comfort and care only to be obtained in his own home was essential to his recovery, and his release came too late to be of avail in enabling the doctors to restore him. His health was undoubtedly impaired by the strain of his political activities and his death was unquestionably hastened by his imprisonment. Had he lived he would have been a tower of strength to the country at this juncture for, though he would himself have been ready to negotiate for terms involving a settlement considerably less than the Lahore resolution laid down, as his interview with George Slocombe clearly showed, he would have loyally abided by whatever decision the Congress took and given his service to its attainment as energetically and with the same determination and self-denial that he displayed during all the years since the launching of the first Non-co-operation movement, a service for which he has earned the undying gratitude of his countrymen.

He was a great soldier of Swaraj and when the history of these strenuous times comes to be written his portrait will stand out as one of the giants who helped to bring India at the last with rapid strides to the attainment of her ideal.

The Mahratta

(*Poona*)

With the passing away of Pandit Motilal Nehru, the most dominant personality in Indian politics has been removed at a most critical point in the

struggle for freedom, when his presence would have been of the utmost use and have exercised the most potent and salutary influence. The Congress Working Committee was meeting the Round Table Delegates who had been summoned to Allahabad immediately after their landing in India. Decisions about the future of Indian constitutional reforms were to be taken after consultation with them. Whole nation's eyes and even the eyes of Great Britain were directed to the upshot of these intended grave confabulations. But in the midst of all these expectations and plans, the illness of Pandit Motilal took a serious turn. A dark cloud of anxiety was spread over the public mind. Prayers for long life to Panditji began to be offered to the Almighty all over India. He was taken to Lucknow for X-Ray examination and last Friday morning found India flung into tremendous spasms of grief at the shocking news that Death had snatched him away from his bed, surrounded and guarded as it was by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other members of the Nehru family, not to say pre-eminent medical men who were in constant and vigilant attendance!

What earthly power can withstand the triply fatal onslaughts which the ever jealous and ungracious Fate takes wicked delight in launching against Indian leaders at crucial moments in the history of the nation, which they had consecrated their lives to emancipate from foreign thralldom? Lokamanya 'Bhe', Deshbandhu Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mahomed Ali-
alas, Death laid His icy hand on their glorious heads exactly at a time when their live energies and thoughts were mightily needed to give the proper lead to the nation. And yet the demise of Pandit Motilalji in the nation's present circumstances cannot but be described as the most unkindest cut of all. It is indeed, a national disaster. It is a crushing blow to his worthy son, the mirror of Young India's aspirations, and to his patriotic family. It is a personal and irreparable loss to Mahatma Gandhi. It is a stab in the heart of the Congress. It is a great

calamity to all, all his followers, admirers and friends in all parties, who have exhibited the high and reverential regard in which the illustrious deceased was held, by means of the fine tributes paid to his inspiring memory after his death.

With the weight of almost three score years and ten Pandit Motilalji was, by far, the doyen of the Congress politics. A Kasmir Brahman, born not of a very renowned family, Panditji got himself fairly educated and having passed the pleader's examination, started practice first at Cawnpur and then at Allahabad where, by his forensic skill of the highest order, he occupied the pride of place. And even unto death he stood head and shoulders above the pleader-class in the U. P., if not other parts of India too. By dint of his legal success, he amassed an amount of wealth which even Princes might envy and acquired an influence in the public which left Government Officers, not excluding the Governor of the U. P. himself, a-gape with wonder. He also distinguished himself in the local Legislative Council and though inclined towards Moderatism in politics, he became a member of Dr. Besant's Home Rule League after her internment. The Jallianwalla Bag succeeded and when, as a most capable members of the Congress Inquiry Committee into that tragedy which will be an eternal shame to Great Britain, his mind was touched with the inhumanity, he veered towards nationalism. He came into the most intimate contact with Mahatma Gandhi and since 1919 he has been the sternest opponent of the British Raj and the strongest pillar of the Indian National Congress. In 1919 at Amritsar and 1928 at Calcutta he was called upon by the nation to preside over the Congress sessions; and thereby the nation manifested what undoubted confidence it was reposing in him. He was twice imprisoned, but jail-life did not at all lessen the inexhaustible fund of his energy, which he had left at the nation's disposal. He knew no rest in discharging his duties and he may be said, without doubt, to have died in harness, in so far as on his death-bed too, he was holding discourse

as to the course the nation should adopt with respect to the Premier's speech.

His sublime leadership of the non-official section of the Legislative Assembly during 1923-29, his Secretaryship of the Swarajya Party formed at Gaya, his achievement of the Nehru Report and many other outstanding facts in his political career, will always continue to bear witness to his capacity of work, his skill in negotiations with other parties, his amphibious constructive and destructive statesmanship, his dexterous diplomacy, his strength of convictions and other qualities which served to exalt him above the whole galaxy of national leaders. He was made of the stuff of which Prime Ministers and Ambassadors in free countries are made. The grivous irony of the slavish national condition is that such first-class talents and abilities have to be wasted in opposition to the system of Government that obtains in the country. But that price of freedom has to be paid. Tilak, Lalaji, Das and many others did pay it. Nor did Pandit Motilalji spare himself in footing the bill. And when one thinks, in this stain, of the huge loss sustained by the nation, one is convinced of the urgency of the problem of dissolution of India's bondage being triumphantly tackled with redoubled vigour and sacrifice, so that such valiant and noble-minded leaders might be in a position to lend greater glory embellishment to the emancipated India.

Like Panditji's political and diplomatic abilities, his sacrifice too was unbounded. The fact of his gift of the palatial 'Anand Bhawan' to the nation is fresh in the public mind. His sacrifice in money too stands unmatched. His house had always been almost a national guest-house, the rich and raining abundance of which all leader and workers could gladly partake. Of superb fineness and culture of mind and behaviour he was a veritable model.

But, by the cruel stroke of Destiny, Pandit Matilalji is gone, never to return. And gone, gone are with him the qualities of a loving father, a hospi-

table host, an excellent advocate, a sincere friend, a keen debater, a peerless politician, a strong-willed statesman, a shrewd diplomat, above all a national leader and servant whose place it will be impossible for the nation to fill up, at least in the near future. In his bereavement, Pandit Jawaharlal, a worthy son of a worthy father may well rest assured that the nation as a whole mourns and condoles with him. And Pandit Jaharlalji may take consolation from the admitted fact that his father forsook this world after living almost a full life and devoting his all to his mother-land's unstinted service. He, therefore, must justly be said to have died a heroic death. May his soul rest in perfect peace!

"We stand on our own legs. Governments which have not paid attention to the lessons of History have invariably come to grief; and I have no doubt that what has not been accomplished by the statesmanship of England will be accomplished by the people, adding another to the number of fallen empires."

Pandit Motilal Nehru.

APPENDIX A.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU'S

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

AT THE CALCUTTA CONGRESS,

1928

FRIENDS,

I am deeply grateful to you for the honour you have done me in electing me to preside for a second time over this great national assembly. That honour, signal as it is, carries with it a burden which is none too light, and the bravest amongst us may well hesitate to shoulder it. You are well aware how I have hesitated. But the exceeding kindness with which you have repeated your confidence in me has left me no choice but to bow to your will and to endeavour to shoulder as best as I can, the heavy burden of guiding a great nation in its struggle for freedom. That very kindness also emboldens me to expect from you every indulgence and co-operation in the high task with which you have entrusted me.

Nine years ago I had the honour to preside over the National Congress. Martial Law with all its grim consequences and implications had just come and gone, and we were preparing for a great tussle with our alien rulers. That trial of strength came soon after and although we did not emerge victorious, the honours of war were with us and the promise of future victory was ours. The great grief, that is India, woke up for a while and the very awakening shook the foundations of British rule. There was a reaction and a relapse; but again we see unmistakable signs of another and a greater awakening, and

who will stop India in her forward stride when she is fully awake? Non-co-operation followed Dyerism and O'Dwyerism. Something perilously like these is again in the air, and again we are on the threshold of another great struggle for freedom.

In this struggle we shall unhappily miss many familiar faces, many trusty counsellors and gallant warriors who are no more. We shall miss Hakim Ajmal Khan and Lala Lajpat Rai whose death in the course of the year has deprived India in the moment of trial of two of her most trusted and valiant sons. Another ex-president who has passed away was Lord Sinha. Among other national workers who have gone I should like to mention specially Maganlal Gandhi, Gopabandhu Das and Andhararatna Gopal Krishnappa. On behalf of this Congress I offer its respectful condolence to the families of our departed colleagues.

I now proceed to place my views and suggestions before you on the immediate work before us. To prevent disappointment I must at the outset prepare you for a plain matter of fact statement from a plain matter of fact man of the world as it is, and not of the world as it should be. Let me warn you that you will be disappointed if you expect from me anything in the nature of high idealism presented in an attractive setting of word and phrase. Not that I deprecate idealism in the broader sense or am less convinced than anybody else of the supreme necessity of keeping the highest ideal in view, provided you try to live up to it. But pure idealism completely divorced from realities has no place in politics and is but a happy dream which must sooner or later end in a rude awakening. However high pitched the ideal may be, and the higher the better, the actual work to be done in the pursuit of that ideal must be guided solely by practical considerations. I am sure that we are all agreed upon that ideal though we give it different names. I am equally sure that we are also agreed upon the only way to achieve it. But the tragedy of it all is that we have so magnified our differences on what to my mind are non-essentials that we are unable to see the wood for the trees. These differences lie at the root of our failures, and are responsible for conflicting schools of thought which have rendered common action impossible. In my humble judgment the whole trouble is traceable to varying

tendencies in the different schools to over-rate some and under-rate other aspects of the situation. For instance there is one school of thought which exaggerates our weak points to such an extent as to feel utterly helpless in achieving anything except through the grace and good will of the very people who are oppressing and exploiting us. As against this there is the opposite school which takes little note either of our weak points or of the strength of the opposing forces and is ready to dash out full steam ahead on uncharted seas. It will be my humble endeavour to face the stern realities of the situation without blinking and then to suggest what seems to me to be the most suitable line of action for your acceptance.

It is, I take it, the duty of every man to help as far as it lies in his power to make his country fit to live in. But the actual process to be employed in bringing about the necessary change from what is to what should be, depends upon circumstances which cannot be the same in all countries and at all times. The essentials considered in the abstract are always the same, but concrete cases present peculiarities of their own to which no general rule or particular example is wholly applicable.

No two peoples in the world have started from exactly the same point or followed exactly the same course. Indeed the same people have had to change their course from time to time to suit the altered conditions of ever changing situations. We can always profit by the failure of others (but seldom, if ever, by their success. The reason is obvious. It is easy to avoid mistakes made by others if we find ourselves in the same or similar predicament in which those mistakes were committed, but it is impossible to bring into existence the potent factors which made for success in some other country if those factors are entirely lacking in our own. The practical problem before us is to find out how under the conditions in which we live and with the materials at our disposal we can deliver the goods at the lowest cost of production. False analogies from other countries can only help to confuse the real issue.

To form a true idea of the work before us we have to answer three questions :

(1) WHERE DO WE STAND ?

(2) WHAT IS OUR DESTINATION ? And

(3) HOW CAN WE REACH OUR DESTINATION ?

I shall endeavour to answer these questions to the best of my ability more from the practical than the dialectical point of view.

We have first to make sure of where we stand so as not to lose our bearings after we start. The point has a twofold aspect—one in relation to the Government and the other in relation to ourselves. As to the former we all know that whatever political or civil rights we possess they are in the nature of a conditional gift enjoyable during the pleasure of our rulers. They can deprive us, and indeed have from time to time actually deprived thousands of us, of those rights at any moment with or without reason at their sweet will by using the vast reserve of arbitrary power which they retain in their own hands. I will not encumber this address by repeating an oft told tale. It is well-known how the present Government has re-inforced and consolidated itself in the political and economic spheres by legislative, executive, and administrative action. It will serve no useful purpose to take you through the long list of repressive and oppressive measures which have been taken in India from the beginning of British rule down to the present day, or to remind you of how, after we were thoroughly crippled, the door to recovery was completely barred against us. We have been persistently denied all "opportunity for self-realisation, self development, and self-fulfilment" for which Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das fought so valiantly in the closing years of his life. We have been scrupulously shut out of all effective part in the internal and external affairs of our own country.

The solemn promises of responsible government have found fulfilment in that colossal fraud, the Statutory Commission, which is now careering along our streets leaving bleeding heads and broken bones behind. Nothing has so clearly brought out the cold callousness of the officials on the one hand, and the utter helplessness of the people to protect themselves on the other, as the progress of this Commission from town to town. To my mind the circumstances attending it are symptomatic of a grave organic infection and not merely of the well-known functional incapacity of the Government. It shows the pre-

sence of the toxin of Dyerism in their internal economy. The happenings at Lahore and Lucknow are only mild eruptions on the surface indicating the deep rooted disease within. We are indebted to the stupidity of the special correspondent of an English newspaper of Calcutta for a glimpse into the real mentality of the members of the Commission which may be taken as a faithful reflection of the mentality of the Government. He says:

"The Cawnpore scenes have apparently put the finishing touch on a psychic impression which the riotous scenes in Delhi had begun. Some of the Commissioners are making no secret of their indignation that such things should be permitted. I feel that if some of the Commissioners had to write their report this week Lord Salisbury's famous prescription in another matter, 'twenty years of resolute government,' would recommend itself much more to their minds than any advance whatever."

So that the only way to achieve responsible Government for India is to fawn upon the great Commissioners and flatter them with a false declaration of confidence. And the surest way to invite "twenty years of resolute government" is to show your true feelings about the commission. All I need say is that India will refuse to take responsible government as a reward for servility and will welcome "resolute government"; but whether it will last for twenty years the future alone can decide. This prophet of evil has even dared to envisage the future. He proceeds to say:

"I seemed to sense a vision of realities stark and grim, and catch from the future the tramp of marching men."

These remarks were called forth by the grand boycott demonstration which greeted the Commissioners on their arrival at Cawnpore. It is remarkable that while this correspondent was sending his inspired vision, the Police Superintendent of Cawnpore was writing to the organisers thanking them for the excellence of their arrangements and the absence of any untoward incident. That letter has, I believe, been published in the press. But the editor excelled the correspondent, as was befitting his superior position, by indulging in a particularly venomous attack, in the course of which he threatened resistance of the Indian demand for freedom to the "last ounce of ammunition."

I am sure that if this editor and his correspondent had an ounce of discretion between them both, they would not have so easily given away official secrets. But we must thank them for their timely warning and assure them that we are ready. There can be nothing better than 'resolute government' at this juncture to bring matters to a head.

Our English friends affect to be shocked at these demonstrations. I should have ignored the foolish talk in which they have indulged but a responsible statement has recently been publicly made in this City on the subject by the Viceroy, and I feel that I cannot allow it to go unchallenged. However much one may regret untoward incidents, the right to hold peaceful demonstrations to give expression to strong public feeling has never been doubted. The demonstrations held after the return of the Commission to India have been characterised as "unmannerly and offensive." My answer is that such demonstrations must in their very nature be 'offensive' to those against whom they are made, and it is hardly reasonable to expect drawing room manners from a hostile crowd. The Viceroy has uttered two platitudes and a threat. The first platitude is : "However much those who organise such demonstrations may themselves deprecate violence they are, when it comes to the point, often quite incapable of controlling the forces they have excited." The second is : "Those who deliberately embarked on a course so crude, so senseless and so dangerous, whatever the object they may mistakenly desire to serve, incur a very heavy responsibility."

The threat is that "it is the plain duty of Government to take whatever steps it deems necessary to prevent the recurrence of these discreditable incidents."

I agree with His Excellency on the first platitude and would also agree with him on the second if he could substitute the word "natural" for the words "crude and senseless"

But both platitudes have no relation whatever to actual facts. As regards the threat it was anticipated by the English newspaper a week before ; it indicates an early materialisation of 'resolute government'. I have already dealt with the latter and have nothing further to add. In regard to the former, I have to point out that it has been established to our entire satisfaction by public statements of responsi-

ble Indian leaders, which no amount of departmental enquiry can controvert, that all the violence at these demonstrations was started by the Police, and attempts made by the people at one or two places to retaliate were speedily put down by their leaders. But if a stray missile struck a motor car, one of the occupants of which happened to be a lady, or some men in the large crowds came too near the great Commissioners and waved their black flags in close proximity to their highly respectable noses, is it a matter about which any undue fuss need be made? I am sure that under similar circumstances worse things would have happened in England. I should like to put a few questions to those who have affected righteous indignation at the happenings at Lahore, Lucknow and Cawnpore. Those questions are :

- (1) Would it be possible in any European country more specially in England for a commission of enquiry, which the people looked upon as a national insult, to travel in the comfort and safety enjoyed by Sir John Simon and his colleagues in India?
- (2) Would not all the silken flags and gold embroidered decorations such as were displayed in Butler Park have been torn to shreds and all the beautiful multi-coloured electric lamps, shining on them, smashed to pieces, if any attempt were made in England to entertain publicly, men connected with a mission as highly unpopular among Englishmen as Sir John Simon and his colleagues are among Indians?
- (3) How would any Englishman like his house to be broken into, his guests treated to a sound thrashing and then arrested and imprisoned for a night for making a peaceful demonstration from his own terrace?
- (4) How would an Englishman like to be imprisoned in his own house, for however short a time, for holding opinions against the Government of the day?
- (5) How long would a government last in England which allowed the things mentioned in question (3) and (4) to happen?

We know that the house of the great nationalist nobleman of Oudh, the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, was surrounded with a cordon of police while his reactionary compeers were entertaining the Commission in a neighbouring park. The Maharaja, as is well-known, bravely stands for the boycott of the Commission and has refused to take part in any function given in its honour. Where is the liberty of the ordinary citizen when the premier baron of Oudh, a retired Home Member of the U. P. Government, decorated by it with the highest honours in its gift, can be imprisoned in his own house, simply because he holds an opinion disliked by the Government? Is this anything very different from the "resolute government" foreshadowed by the Viceroy and the English newspaper. It has actually come upon us since.

The recent murder of a police official at Lahore has provided an excuse to those whose minds are already made up, to forge new weapons to destroy the forces of nationalism. It need hardly be said that the crime is to be regretted. Congressmen, whether belonging to the school of independence or that of dominion status, stand and have always stood, for a policy of strict non-violence and have given practical proof of the sincerity of their convictions on numerous occasions, including the recent incidents at Lahore, Lucknow, Cawnpore and Patna. It is at present impossible to say whether the Lahore murder had a political significance. But assuming that it had, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the real responsibility for such incidents lies on the shoulders of the government. History teaches us that incidents like these are symptomatic of a condition which can only be dealt with effectively by a wise and radical change of policy, and not by resort to coercive methods which defeat their own purpose and are resisted by the people with all the strength of which they are capable. But the bureaucracy has little use for lessons of history. The orgy of repression has already begun in the Punjab and is likely to extend at no distant date to the other provinces.

Forgive me for taking so much of your time over the Commission. It might well have been completely ignored, were it not for the direct bearing it has on the work before us. It is a portent of evil, but not without the good which comes out of all evil. It has shown us the

fine courage of our men, specially the students, their serene coolness under the gravest provocation, their splendid stand against brutal *lathi* assaults with their own empty hands crossed on their chests, their gallant rescues of their comrades and leaders in utter disregard of the injuries inflicted on them. Let those who take this for cowardice try their "resolute government" and they will soon be disillusioned. They will have the satisfaction of shooting brave inoffensive men with their backs to the wall and chests bared to receive the bullet.

Let us now turn to the economic sphere. To have an adequate idea of the continuous exploitation to which we have been subjected, and of the enormous extent of the economic hold acquired by England over us by legislation and otherwise, it would be necessary to review the whole period of the British occupation of India. I shall however content myself by reminding you of a few historical facts the accuracy of which cannot be questioned. Besides maintaining the costliest civil and military services in the world at our expense, the solicitude of our trustees, as they delight to call themselves, has been mainly directed to the creation of markets in India for England's manufactures. This laudable object has been achieved by a number of direct and indirect methods too numerous to be dealt with satisfactorily in the course of this address. It is a long story beginning from the days of the well-known barbarities committed on the Decca artisans and continued through periods of more refined spoliation till we come to the present day powerful banking, commercial, and industrial combines which are now successfully choking off indigenous enterprise.

But by far the most important economic hold which the Government has acquired over the country by legislation and otherwise is through its manipulation of the currency. It will be tedious to go into the history of this highly technical question, but the fact is now admitted that the present depression in Indian commerce and industry, and the low buying power of the cultivator are due to the action of the Government in forcing up the rupee from 1s. 4d. to 1s. 6d. It has resulted in pinching the over-taxed cultivator of 12½ per cent. in the price of the raw materials produced by him, and giving a bonus of 12½ per cent. to the importer of foreign manufactures into India. If the Government had the interests of India at all in view, it would

have reduced the land tax by 12½% and imposed an import duty of 12½% on all goods which can be manufactured in this country, including textile goods.

It was left to Sir George Godfrey of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce to discover for the first time the other day that all the authentic records of India's prosperous trade and commerce before the advent of the British were pure legends. In the course of an utterance at the last meeting at the Associated Chambers of Commerce attacking everything Indian, he justified the British exploitation of India using fiction for fact. He said: "If Lancashire is accused of devastating India, Lancashire has equally devastated the English countryside." What a comparison! I presume Sir George Godfrey is in possession of some history of England unknown to the rest of the world which records the fact that the weavers of the English countryside were subjected to the pains and penalties that were inflicted, as proved by European witnesses, on Indian weavers by the East India Company, that the English Countryside was compelled to buy Lancashire cloth in the place of homespun; and the further fact that a Cotton Excise Duty was Imposed on Lancashire textile while foreign goods were imported free of duty.

His reference to Indian shipping betrays the same fondness for fiction as his reference to textile does—for facts I must refer you and him to the excellent literature that Mr. Haji has published on his harmless and timely bill. Indian shipping was as deliberately sacrificed for the English interest as was India's greatest cottage industry. Now that a belated bill is before the legislature seeking somewhat to stop the continuance of the grave wrong done to Indian shippers by the English monopoly, the monopolists accuse us of attempting racial discrimination and pass a resolution demanding that the legislature shall not have the power to pass that bill.

Not content with distorting history this English merchant prince almost hit below the belt when he suggested that the framers of the draft constitution now before the country had sought to disfranchise Britishers. It was his duty before he brought so grave a charge against responsible men to make sure of his facts. He should have known that as soon as the Committee discovered that there was a

possibility of a doubt they removed it in their supplementary report which was before the country days before Sir George Godfrey delivered his oration.

It will be clear from what I have said above that the process of forging new chains to keep us in perpetual bondage has gone on simultaneously with a long protracted, ruthless exploitation of our material resources. While, however, the Government has to answer for a great deal, it must be frankly confessed that we cannot honestly acquit ourselves of all blame for our present plight. The strength or weakness of a nation depends upon the strength or weakness of the tie which keeps its component parts together. In our case this tie has not for centuries been very strong and with the march of the new order of things has lost much of what binding force it ever had. There is no overlooking the fact that we are divided into a number of large and small communities, more or less disorganised and demoralised. The Government is undoubtedly responsible for the prevailing ignorance and poverty among the masses and in a very large measure for the growing hostility among the classes. But it certainly is not to blame for the evils of our own social system, which has relegated millions of our people as good as ourselves, to the category of untouchables and depressed classes, and has put our women under restrictions which deprive them not only of many natural rights but also of the opportunity to render national service. Nor is the Government solely accountable for all the communal differences which have contributed a dark chapter to the recent history of our own times.

The Committee of the All Parties Conference has dealt fully in its report with the communal problem in India. It has offered a solution which I trust this Congress will accept. The problem before us however is a wider and more fundamental one than a mere adjustment of communal differences. It is : what place, if any, religion, as practised and understood to-day, should occupy in our public life ?

Whatever the higher conception of religion may be, it has in our day-to-day life come to signify bigotry and fanaticism, intolerance and narrow-mindedness, selfishness and the negation of many of the qualities which go to build a healthy society. Its chief inspiration is

hatred of him who does not profess it, and in its holy name more crimes have been committed than for any professedly mundane object. Can any sane person consider the trivial and ridiculous causes of conflict between Hindu and Moslem, or between sect and sect, and not wonder how any one with a grain of sense should be affected by them ?

The aim of all education and progress is to develop the collective instinct in man ; to teach him to co-operate with his neighbour ; and to make him feel that his individual good depends on the good of society as a whole. Only thus can the selfish and individualistic instincts be suppressed and the energy of mankind be diverted from mutual competition to co-operation for the common good. Religion as practised to-day is, however, the greatest separatist force. It puts artificial barriers between man and man and prevents the development of healthy and co-operative national life. Not content with its reactionary influences on social matters, it has invaded the domain of politics and economics, and affects every aspect of our life. Its association with politics has been to the good of neither. Religion has been degraded and politics has sunk into the mire. Complete divorce of one from the other is the only remedy.

But this is not all. A strange fatality has been pursuing our political activities from a very early stage. We have never been entirely free from serious differences among those who have taken up the patriotic duty of liberating their country in right earnest and have not winced at any sacrifice in discharging it to the best of their ability. These differences have inevitably set back the hands of the clock and opened the door to disruptive forces. There have been serious splits among the leaders which have spread with lightning rapidity to the rank and file on almost every occasion when a forward move has been taken or even contemplated. We would do well to profit by the lesson of the past lest the inexorable fate which has been pursuing us for the last 20 years or more overtake us again. It is close upon our heels already in the garb of socialism and will devour both complete independence and dominion status if you let it approach nearer.

The brief outline I have given above will show that we stand at present in the thickest part of the wood. We suffer from two sets

of serious disabilities—those imposed upon us by foreign rule and those of our own making. It is difficult to stand against the foreigner without offering him a united front. It is not easy to offer a united front while the foreigner is in our midst domineering over us.

THE TWO SETS OF DISABILITIES TOGETHER FORM A VICIOUS CIRCLE AROUND US AND WE STAND IN THE CENTRE, HEAVILY HANDICAPPED BY ONE IN TRYING TO GET RID OF THE OTHER. WE HAVE TO BREAK THROUGH THE VICIOUS CIRCLE BEFORE WE CAN HOPE TO BE OUT OF THE WOOD.

This is my answer to the question—where do we stand?

The second question is what is our destination?

My answer straight and simple is FREEDOM in substance and not merely in form, by whatever name you call it. The Madras Congress has declared the goal as complete independence. The All Parties Committee has recommended dominion status. I have explained my position more than once but with your permission I shall re-state it here as clearly as I can. To put it in a nutshell it comes to this: I am for complete independence—as complete as it can be—but I am not against full Dominion Status—as full as any dominion possesses it to-day—provided I get it before it loses all attraction. I am for severance of British connection as it subsists with us to-day but am not against it as it exists with the dominions.

Let me explain. National freedom unrestricted and unqualified is the natural craving of the human soul. I do not believe that there is a single Indian, be he or she a member of a party or group, or one completely detached from all parties and groups, who does not love freedom or will not have it. Differences arise only when the question is raised whether it is possible to have and to keep freedom; and it is then that we find opinion sharply divided. There are those who have the faith in them and in their countrymen to answer the question by an emphatic “yes”—and I may at once say that I am one of them. But there are also those who will shake their heads, some from conviction and others in doubt. Complete independence is the goal of the former, dominion status that of the latter. I will not undertake a

fruitless enquiry into the relation or want of relation between independence and dominion status. It does not matter to me whether theoretically they belong to the same or different stocks, or whether one is or is not the negation of the other. What matters to me is that dominion status involves a very considerable measure of freedom bordering on complete independence and is any day preferable to complete dependence. I am therefore not against an exchange of our abject dependence with whatever measure of freedom there is in full dominion status if such exchange is offered. But I cannot make dominion status my goal as it has to come from another party over whom I have no control. The only way I can acquire such control is by working in right earnest for complete independence. I say 'in right earnest' because I know mere bluff will not take me far; it is only when complete independence is in sight that the party in power will be inclined to negotiate for something less. Empty bluff will not carry us to that stage. Solid work and ungrudging sacrifice alone will do it. When that work is done, and sacrifice made, the party having the whip hand will dictate. Whether it is to be dominion status or complete independence will depend upon whether the conditions then prevailing are similar to those of Ireland or to those of the United States of America at the time when each came into what she now has. Meanwhile, there is nothing before us but a protracted life-and-death struggle on the one side, and continued repression relieved by an occasional dose of undiluted oppression on the other. It follows therefore that whatever the ultimate goal, we must be prepared to traverse the same thorny path to reach it. If we are not so prepared, independence will ever be an idle dream and dominion status an ever receding will-o'-the-wisp.

I must here notice another part of the Viceroy's speech from which I have already quoted. He draws a dark picture of the damage that India is "likely to suffer at the hands of its false friends who would guide it towards the morass of independence." The description of 'independence' as a 'morass' is rather original. It would be more correct to say that we have to cross a morass before we arrive at independence. But the morass surrounds us on all sides and we can arrive nowhere except by crossing it. That being so our friends who support the movement say: why not make for

independence pure and unadulterated which depends upon your own effort, however long and arduous, instead of floundering in the direction of dominion status which depends upon the good will of Britain. They argue that it will be sheer waste of time, energy, and sacrifice first to struggle in the morass for dominion status and when you find your way barred then to bungle back to the starting point and plunge again into the same morass to struggle for independence. From Lord Irwin's point of view this argument is unanswerable. From my point of view dominion status is passed on the way to independence, and if it is refused you have simply to press on to your destination which must always be independence. Lord Irwin's argument based on loyalty to the Crown can easily be overstressed. Loyalty is a fine thing but the strain it can bear is not unlimited.

But it is obvious that independence does not mean walking out of the world. If you continue to live in it you must come across others who also live in the same world. It is neither necessary nor possible for the existence of an independent state in the present day world conditions to cut off all political, economic, and social relations with other states. Indeed the more independent you are the more necessary it will be to establish relations all round. When, therefore, we talk of the severance of the British connection we do not mean a cessation of all relations, but such appropriate change in existing relations as is necessary to transform a dependency into a free state. The extent of the change will depend upon the extent of freedom we achieve. If it is dominion status, the change, as it is now well understood, will be from a dependency to 'an autonomous nation, free and equal member of the British Commonwealth of nations.' If however, it is complete independence, India will stand out of the British Commonwealth of nations and the nature of her relations with Great Britain will be determined by treaty and mutual understanding. In either case, some connection with other nations including the British must subsist if we mean to take an active part in shaping our own future and that of the world.

Mahatma Gandhi presiding at the Belgaum Congress said :

"In my opinion, if the British Government mean what they say honestly help us to equality, it would be a greater triumph

than a complete severance of the British connection. I would therefore strive for Swaraj within the Empire but would not hesitate to sever all connection if severance became a necessity through Britain's own fault. I would thus throw the burden of separation on the British people."

This was four years ago. Much water has since flown under the bridges. We have striven and striven hard for Swaraj within the Empire but the British people have not so far shown any inclination to help us honestly to equality. All the indications have been to the contrary. Indeed responsible British statesmen have repeatedly declared that full dominion status is yet a far cry. I therefore fully sympathise with those who have exhausted their patience and have now raised the cry of complete separation. But let us fully grasp the meaning of Mahatma Gandhi. I am sure he never meant that the moment we felt sure that Britain was not going to give us dominion status we were to declare for independence irrespective of our own readiness to enforce it. He was, to my mind, referring to the time when we acquired what I have described as the whip hand. The time admittedly has not arrived.

In the same address Mahatmaji said :—

"The better mind of the world desires to-day not absolutely independent states warring one against another but a Federation of friendly interdependent states. The consummation of that event may be far off. I want to make no grand claim for our country. But I see nothing grand or impossible about our expressing our readiness for universal inter-dependence rather than independence. It should rest with Britain to say that she will have no real alliance with India."

And then comes the pregnant passage which I earnestly commend to your very serious consideration. It runs thus : -

"I desire the ability to be totally independent without asserting the independence. Any scheme that I would frame while Britain declares her goal about India to be complete equality within the Empire would be that of an alliance and not of independence without alliance."

So far as Britain's formal declaration of her goal about India is concerned, it is complete equality within the empire. The scheme prepared by the All Parties Committee and adopted by the Conference is therefore in full accord with Mahatmaji's views.

The truth is that we cannot get anything from England except by proving our strength. The way to acquire that strength is to organise ourselves and our resources. Such organisation is as necessary for those who desire dominion status as it is for those who work for complete independence. That being so the obvious course is to work together up to the point the weakest of us is ready to go. If he is not disillusioned by the time we reach that point, let us leave him there and forego ahead.

I must here ease the minds of those who fear that the moment dominion status is granted to us, we shall use it to throw off British connection altogether. In the speech from which I have already quoted Lord Irwin said :

"Those in Great Britain who sympathise most warmly with the ideal of India attaining at the earliest possible moment the status of any of the other great dominions of the Crown, will find the ground cut from their feet if British opinion ever becomes convinced, as some apparently are now endeavouring to convince it, that so-called Dominion Status was only valued by India as a stepping stone to a complete severance of her connection with the British Commonwealth."

There is no foundation for this apprehension and there is no reason whatever why we should seek complete severance of British connection if we are put on terms of perfect equality with the Dominions. If we are not put on such terms it will not be dominion status ; we will not take a colourable imitation. It must therefore be clearly understood that dominion status has to be offered and accepted with all its implications, its rights and obligations, which both parties will be in honour bound to respect and uphold. But as Mahatmaji has put it, "we would not hesitate to sever all connection, if severance became necessary through Britain's own fault " It is conceivable that we may be driven to separation by the treatment accorded to us by Britain

herself, and in that case we shall have precisely the same remedy as the dominions now have.

It will, I hope, now be clear why I say that I am for complete independence and at the same time not against dominion status, if the latter comes without avoidable delay. It is impossible to say which of the parties will have the whip hand at the psychological moment. Great Britain has the whip hand to-day, and the psychological moment for her to offer, and for India to accept, full dominion status, has arrived. If Great Britain will not avail herself of the opportunity India will have the whip hand to-morrow, and then will come the psychological moment for her to wrest complete independence from Great Britain. No offer of dominion status will then be acceptable.

Objection is taken to the preparation of any scheme of government on dominion lines by us on the ground that it is for Britain, and not India, to make the offer. It is pointed out that those who enjoy dominion status did not fight for it but achieved it in the course of their struggle for complete independence, the offer having come from Great Britain. I am quite clear in my own mind that substantially the same process will have to be repeated in India if we are ever to have dominion status, and as I have already pointed out, we cannot reasonably accept it unless complete independence is in sight. But I cannot understand why it is not open to us to offer terms to Great Britain, as much as it is open to her to offer terms to us. If the offer is honourable to those who make it as well as to those who accept it, it does not matter to me who is the proposer and who the acceptor. I do not believe that we have among the soldiers of independence a more fearless and selfless patriot and a greater fighter for the freedom of India than Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das was. Let me recall to your minds the great speech he delivered at Faridpore in which he said that all he needed was a full and fair opportunity for self-realisation, self-development and self-fulfilment. He did not hesitate to make an offer of full co-operation to the bureaucracy if it would only afford that opportunity, show a real change of heart, and guarantee "Swaraj in the fullest sense to come automatically in the near future." That offer was no sign of weakness. It was made in the full consciousness of strength. "If" he declared "our offer of settlement should not meet with

any response we must go on with our national work on the lines which we have pursued for the last two years so that it may become impossible for the Government to carry on the administration of the country except by the exercise of its exceptional powers.....and when the time comes we shall not hesitate to advise our countrymen not to pay taxes which are sought to be raised by the exercise of their exceptional powers."

Those were the words of a statesman, a political philosopher and a determined fighter for liberty a man who believed in the doctrine of self-reliance which he preached. It was not beneath his dignity to offer a settlement while he was preparing for a great fight. As a matter of fact, Britain has already made an offer of a kind in the most solemn manner she could, by embodying it in the preamble of the Government of India Act. It is true that this offer is utterly inadequate and wholly unacceptable. The proper course is to make a counter offer. This is what the All Parties Committee has done.

A good deal has been said about developing sanctions. On this point I am content to quote Mahatma Gandhi. Commenting on the All Parties Committee's Report he said in *Young India* :

"There is still much diplomatic work to be done. But more than the diplomatic work is that of forging the sanction. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru truly observed that whether it was Dominion Status or Independence, a proper sanction would be necessary if the national demand was to be enforced. Bardoli has shown the way, if the sanction has to be non-violent. The Congress creed has non-violence as its integral part. There is no denying the fact that non-violence had receded in the back ground before Bardoli. But even as the Nehru report has made an unanimous demand possible, Bardoli has brought back the vanishing faith in non-violence. If, then, we are sure of the sanction, we need not worry whether Swaraj is otherwise spelt Dominion Status or Independence. Dominion Status can easily become more than Independence, if we have sanction to back it. Independence can easily become a farce if it lacks sanction. What is in a name if we have the reality? A rose smells just as sweet whether you know it by that name or any other. Let us therefore make up our minds as to whether it is to be non-violence or violence

and let the rank and file work for the sanction in real earnest even as the diplomats must work at constitution making."

I have now given my answer to the second question I formulated. It is :

Our destination is Freedom, the form and extent of which will depend upon the time when, and the circumstances under which, it comes.

Meanwhile there is nothing for us but to do the work necessary for all forms and all degrees of freedom. That work is one and the same and I now proceed to consider it.

It must be remembered that the same Congress which declared complete independence as our goal, by another resolution invited all parties to confer with its Working Committee to devise a constitution for India based on common agreement. It was then as obvious as it is now that no party outside the Congress was prepared to set its goal as high as complete independence from the point of view of its own conception of practical politics. The Congress must therefore be taken to have embarked upon the enquiry with full knowledge of this fact. What then was the object of directing the Working Committee to call an All Parties Conference or Convention if complete independence was not merely the goal but the next immediate step ? It certainly was not for the mere fun of it. The importance of the Convention and the political value of its agreed conclusions are quite obvious and must have been so to the Congress when it passed the resolution. But the Congress could not, at the time, have any clear conception as to what the next step would be after the All Parties Convention came to decisions. That would depend upon the extent of agreement reached and the nature of the decisions arrived at which could not then be known.

The Working Committee has faithfully carried out the instructions of the Madras Congress and called the All Parties Conferences. The remarkable success of these national gatherings, in their endeavour to find the highest common basis for a constitution for India, is well-known. Never before, in the history of our public movements, so many organisations—political, labour, religious, communal, and commercial—as took part in those gatherings have come together on

one and the same platform. There can be no doubt that the credit of this great achievement—perhaps the greatest since the day of Non-co-operation—belongs to the Congress which conceived the idea, and more specially to Dr. Ansari, the President of the Congress who never spared himself in carrying it out. The resolutions of the National Convention will come up before you in the course of this session. You will have all the materials before you and it will be your solemn duty to discharge the obligation inherited from the Madras Congress to determine the next step. You have succeeded to the great asset left by the Congress—the goal of complete independence. You cannot shirk its liability. The future will depend largely on the manner in which you discharge that liability.

The recommendations of the main and the supplementary Reports of the Committee appointed by the All Parties Conference are all based on the principle of the highest common agreement. That principle I earnestly commend to this Congress for its acceptance. The Congress is in itself an All Parties Conference and it is its duty to deal with every question coming before it from the point of view of the greatest good of all the parties and the people of India. So far the Congress has been discharging this duty on its own initiative, taking upon itself the responsibility of determining what is good for the people and regulating its policy accordingly. This is the first time in the history of the Congress that it invited the people of India through the various organisations representing them, to determine for themselves what is good for them. In doing so the Congress has acted on the principle of self-determination. Those invited have accepted the invitation of the Congress as they never did before—no, not even in the palmy days of Non-co-operation—when, with all the millions behind it, the Congress was not supported by many well-known organisations. There is not one organisation—political, social, religious, communal, commercial industrial or labour—of any note or standing to-day which did not take part in the All parties Conferences and the National Convention or which, having so taken part, has not given up much that it valued for the sake of unity. It is an achievement of which any country in the world might well be proud. That achievement will now be presented to you. Will you accept it or spurn it? If you have any faith in your claim

for self-determination, you have no right to spurn it even if you disagree. The only question is, whether there is such a consensus of agreement on the scheme that it can be treated as self determined. I say there is. The only dissentients are a few communalists. As regards them, I must say frankly that I do not understand them and am unable to reconcile their claim for special communal advantages with their desire for complete independence. Some of these would reserve to a handful the right to arrest the whole course of the country's legislation. Others are prepared to go back even on joint electorates if a few additional seats are not given to them in the legislatures. Their dissent with a scheme of dominion status can hardly be taken seriously.

I have commented adversely on the speech of the Viceroy delivered in this city recently, but I think I owe it to His Excellency to express my appreciation of another part of the same speech which is germane to the point I am discussing. He said :

"There is no use pretending that the different classes, the different communities, the different races in India will not have different standards, but in such disagreement there is nothing unhealthy or unnatural. If interests clash it does not mean that one set of interests is to be swept away or that one community need smother its individuality to suit the whole. Each has its own good qualities, it's own ideals to pursue, it's own rights to maintain but each should be capable of self-realisation in it's own sphere and at the same time taking it's own place in the whole scheme of National life."

I heartily endorse this sentiment but am not quite sure that His Excellency and I are not at cross purposes. I claim that the Report of the All Parties Committee allows ample scope to every community to pursue its own ideals and affords it ample opportunity for "self-realisation in its own sphere" and at the same time gives to each "its own place in the whole scheme of national life." I have however a shrewd suspicion that Lord Irwin does not mean the same thing. But let me proceed.

Apart from the principle of self determination the only other criterion by which you can judge the All Parties scheme is real and lasting good of the country. Spurn it, by all means, if you honestly

think that it is not for the real and lasting good of the country and only offers a temporary advantage, at the sacrifice of the ultimate goal. But do not spurn it, merely, because it conflicts with theories and dogmas which have no relation to the living facts of the situation.

Neither the authors of the recommendations, nor the Conferences which have adopted them, have put them forward as a counsel of perfection. Speaking for myself and my colleagues on the Committee, I can say that there is no one of us who, left to himself, would have produced the identical report which, acting together we have considered it our duty to make. There are points on which our recommendations run counter to the settled convictions of every one of us, as for instance reservation of seats for minorities. We were, however, compelled to recommend such reservation by the exigencies of the situation.

The one question, therefore that this Congress has to answer is, whether these recommendations and resolutions, taken as a whole, are so utterly outrageous, so thoroughly inconsistent, with the real and lasting good of the country, that it is its duty to reject them, in spite of the consensus of opinion in the country behind them. If they are not, this Congress has no option but to accept them.

It will be observed that the recommendations are divisible under two main heads—general and communal. Both are so inter-related that you cannot accept the one and reject the other. We cannot overlook the Lucknow resolution, whereby all parties agreed that “every one of them will stand by it (the Report) as a whole and will refuse to accept any single part of it without giving full force and effect to all other parts.” There are communal and politico-communal organizations which favour dominion status and have, not only joined the communal agreements as parties, but given up what they considered substantial rights for the sake of an agreed constitution. Many hundreds of public meetings have been held throughout the country, attended by people of all shades of opinion, which have approved of the recommendations as a whole. It is impossible to say how many accepted the communal solution because of the draft constitution for dominion status, and how many accepted the latter because of the former. We have to keep our faith with all. The

course suggested is therefore not open to the Congress. It has either to accept both, the communal solution and the dominion status, recommended by the Conferences, without prejudice to its goal of complete independence, or to scrap the whole scheme.

The position, as I view it, is this. Here is a constitution agreed upon by the various parties, invited by the Congress to frame it. These parties know that the goal of the Congress is complete independence. They do not ask the Congress to change its goal, but present to it the result of their labours such as it is, and say that they are prepared to go thus far and no further at present. They offer their co-operation and demand that of the Congress, to enable both to reach the point up to which they are prepared to go. After that point is reached they reserve liberty to themselves and to the Congress to consider the next step. Is the Congress going to refuse them this co-operation and this liberty? Is the Congress after bringing them together going to send them back to the wilderness in isolated groups, each to shift for itself, and leave the Congress to wrangle over the respective merits of complete independence and dominion status to the end of time? If the Congress will do that, it will abdicate its proper function to guide the nation on its forward march. The occasion calls for skilful general-ship, and not academic discussions which take us nowhere. The nation is knocking at your door. You must open it wide—wide enough for every one to enter, or lose your rightful place of high command. My advice to you is to accept the offer. If you do so the way to your destination is clear.

Begin at the point at which the All Parties conference have now arrived and push forward with them as far as they would go, then pause and take stock of your equipment, and finally throw the strength of your whole being into one great effort to reach the goal.

That is my answer to the question : how can we reach our destination ?

The first, and the most obvious step is to set our own house in order. For this purpose, rally all the parties under the banner of the Congress and prepare to march shoulder to shoulder with them to the farthest end of the common road. That will be the first part of the arduous journey. I suggest the following programme for it :

1. Popularising the communal solution, agreed to at the All Parties Conferences, in the country, by intensive propaganda in the press and on platform and organising village to village lectures.
2. Organising similar propaganda in regard to the resolutions of the Delhi Unity Conference and the Madras Congress, with such improvements as this Congress might make on communal matters, other than those dealt with by the Conferences.
3. Work among the untouchables and depressed classes.
4. Organisation of labour, agricultural and industrial.
5. Other village organisation.
6. Popularising khaddar and boycott of foreign cloth.
7. Campaign against social customs which retard social intercourse and national growth, more especially crusade against the Purdah and the other disabilities of women.
7. Intensive campaign against the drink and opium curse.
8. Publicity.

It will be observed that this is a predominantly social programme. I claim no originality for any of its items and have merely selected them out of a long list which, with the exception of the first item, has been before the Congress and the country for years past. I may, however, be pardoned when I say that we have so far not done much worth speaking in carrying out the constructive work. Common-place as this programme may appear, it is the only true foundation on which the hopes of the high priests of complete independence, as well as those of the votaries of dominion status, can be safely built. To the former I say, that the measure of their capacity, for the tremendous sacrifice that the first real step towards their goal will demand is the measure of their success in carrying out this seemingly unpretentious programme. To the latter I say, that the only chance there is of dominion status being ever offered to them lies in the complete fulfilment of this very programme.

Large sums of money and organised work throughout the country are necessary if we are to set about the business in right earnest. It

is not merely the business of any particular organisation or individual, but of all organisations and all individuals in the country who have the least desire to attain any measure of freedom. Among those who took part in the Convention there were the representatives of all interests in the country—there were the wealthy, the well-to-do, and the poor. Let the wealthy give of their abundance, the well-to-do of their savings, and the poor of their pittance. Let the Indian Princes, great and small, come forward with munificent donations, and give practical proof of the great solicitude they profess for the general well being of their country. In the social part of the programme all can join including Government servants. But will the Government let them? This is the acid test of the honesty of the pious intentions and wishes expressed by British statesmen in England and India. Let the Government, if it honestly means what it professes, publicly declare that the Indian Princes, the Indian commercial and industrial magnates, the great Zamindars, and Government servants, have full liberty to help the social work in every way possible. Let there be no secret instructions to the contrary in sealed covers or in cipher, circulated at the same time. Let the English Banks undertake that they will not turn away Indian commercial and industrial concerns from their door if they subscribe to this fund. Let these three things be done, and I shall see that enough money is forthcoming within a very short time for the full fruition of this programme.

But we Congressmen need not depend upon the pious wishes and intentions of the British bureaucracy and those who are interested in maintaining it in power. The real work has to be done by Congressmen with the help of the progressive parties in the country.

I shall now examine the various items of the programme in relation to Congressmen.

Items 1 and 2 need no explanation. It will be observed that I have confined these items to the communal part of the recommendations as to which there is, and should be, no difference of opinion among us. The vital importance of the work is obvious.

As to untouchability, a great deal has been said but very little work has been done. It should, in my opinion, be the duty of every

Congressman to help actively in this work to the best of his ability. Untouchability must be abolished altogether, so far as Congressmen are concerned, and no person who refuses to associate with untouchables as his equals should be permitted to belong to any Congress organisation. The All India Spinners Association is doing good work in both directions but it needs further support and its work should be supplemented by lectures on sanitation and formation of village and circle committees to promote co-operation among the villages.

No. 6 is the special province of the women of India and I call upon them to offer their services to the Congress.

The campaign against social customs which retard social intercourse and national growth is essential for the success of any programme but we have so far paid the least attention to it. The purdah and the other disabilities of women are a curse we should wipe out without delay. If woman is the better half of man, let us men assist them to do the better part of the work of national uplift. To get rid of Purdah and to reorganise domestic life, on money is wanted. Every individual can and should do his bit.

It is impossible to enter into further details in the course of this address and I would suggest that the All India Congress Committee empowered to divide itself into a number of sub-committees, each to be presided over by a member of the Working Committee, and to be in charge of one or more of the above items. The actual work will be done by similar sub-committees of the Provincial Committees who will look for instructions to the sub-committee of the All India Congress Committee in charge. All other details will be left to the working Committee.

This is the general programme for all parties to carry out. It is as necessary from their point of view as that of the Congress, and I have reason to believe that they will give their full support. If we all do this work honestly and intensively the goal should be within sight. But if we are unable to work out this programme to the full measure expected, whether we retain the support of the other parties or not for Congressmen non-violent non-cooperation is an obligation they dare not shirk unless there is a better aggressive programme before the Congress. Sirdar Vallabhai Patel and Bardoli have shown us that

absolutely peaceful direct action is possible and can be made successful. He has shown what patient work among villagers can do. In your name, I tender my congratulations to the Sirdar and his brave comrades—men as well as women.

We may not forget our countrymen overseas. Though the great work done by Mr. V. S. Sastri has eased the situation to a certain extent in South Africa the position requires considerable watching. The problem in Kenya is growing more and more serious and threatens the very existence of the Indian settlers there who, by the way, went there long before any European and enjoyed the happiest relations with the Africans. In Fiji and British Guiana too the pressure of British exploitation is telling upon our countrymen who have gone there, as much as upon the natives of the soil. But without forgetting them, the best aid we can render them is in the words of Sir Pherozsha Mehta, to gain our freedom here.

I have only dealt with what I consider to be the real crux of the present situation and in doing so I have tried to discharge what I conceive to be my duty to the country at this juncture. My views may not be acceptable to all, specially to the younger men. I quite appreciate their impatience. We need both patience and impatience. Patience with those who differ from us, impatience with ourselves. I have no quarrel with the ideals of the younger men nor with the practical work they have laid out for themselves. I hold with them that all exploitation must cease and all imperialism must go. But the way to do it is a long and dreary one. They know it and have themselves pointed it out. The work before the young and the old is one and the same. Only the mentality is different. Let the younger men by all means preserve their own mentality, but let them not, for the sake of the very motherland they seek to serve, divide the country into more factions and parties than there are already. To the older men I repeat the same advice. Let them both remember the words of wisdom uttered by Mahatma Gandhi and Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das I have quoted above. The masses want bread. They have no time to make experiments and no use for theories and dogmas imported from abroad.

I have done. You have been patient with me. My humble services for what they are worth are at your disposal. Let us sink our differences. Let us march forward shoulder to shoulder and victory is ours.

BANDE MATARAM.

APPENDIX B.

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

As drafted in the Nehru Report.

THE RECOMMENDATIONS

(as ammended)

Constitutional Status of India

1. India shall have the same constitutional status in the *community* of nations, known as the British Empire, as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order and good government of India, and an executive responsible to that Parliament; and shall be styled and known as the Commonwealth of India.

Operation of the constitution and laws

2. This Act and all laws made by the Parliament of the Commonwealth, thereunder shall be binding on the courts and people of every province, and of every part of the Commonwealth, notwithstanding anything in the laws of the Indian Legislature or of any province or in any Act of the United kingdom extending to British India; and the laws of the Commonwealth shall be enforced in all Indian territorial waters.

Definition of citizen

3. The word "citizen" wherever it occurs in this constitution means every person

- (a) who was born, or whose father was either born or naturalised, within the territorial limits of the Commonwealth and has not been naturalised as a citizen of any other country;

- (b) *who being a subject of an Indian State ordinarily carries on business or resides in the territories of the Commonwealth;*
- (c) *or who, being a subject of the Crown carries on business or resides in the territories of the Commonwealth;*
- (d) *who is naturalised in the Commonwealth under the law in force for the time being.*

Explanation.—No person who is a citizen of a foreign country can be a citizen of the Commonwealth unless he renounces the citizenship of such foreign country in the manner prescribed by law.

Fundamental Rights

4. (i) All powers of government and all authority, legislative, executive and judicial, are derived from the people and the same shall be exercised in the Commonwealth of India through the organisations established by or under, and in *due process of* this constitution.
- (ii) No person shall be deprived of his liberty, nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered or confiscated, save in accordance with law. *All titles to private and personal property lawfully acquired and enjoyed at the establishment of the Commonwealth are hereby guaranteed.*
- (iii) Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion are, subject to public order or morality, hereby guaranteed to every person.
- (iv) The right of free expression of opinion, as well as the right to assemble peaceably and without arms, and to form associations or unions, is hereby guaranteed for purposes not opposed to public order or morality.
- (v) All citizens in the Commonwealth of India have the right to free elementary education without any distinction of caste or creed in the matter of admission into any educational institutions, maintained or aided by the State, and such right shall be enforceable as soon as due arrangements shall have been made by competent authority. *Provided that adequate provision shall be made by the State for imparting public*

instruction in primary schools to the children of members of minorities of considerable strength in the population through the medium of their own language and in such script as is in vogue among them.

Explanation.—This provision will not prevent the State from making the teaching of the language of the commonwealth obligatory in the said schools.

- (vi) All citizens are equal before the law and possess equal civic rights.
- (vii) There shall be no penal law whether substantive or procedural of a discriminative nature.
- (viii) No person shall be punished for any act which was not punishable under the law at the time it was committed.
- (ix) No corporal punishment or other punishment involving torture of any kind shall be lawful.
- (x) Every citizen shall have the right to a writ of *habeas corpus*. Such right may be suspended in case of war rebellion by an Act of the central legislature, or, if the legislature is not in session, by the Governor-General-in-Council, and in such case he shall report the suspension to the legislature at the earliest possible opportunity for such action as it may deem fit.
- (xi) There shall be no state religion for the Commonwealth of India or for any province in the Commonwealth, nor shall the state either directly or indirectly endow any religion or give any preference or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status.
- (xii) No person attending any school receiving state aid or other public money shall be compelled to attend the religious instruction that may be given in the school.
- (xiii) No person shall by reason of his religion, caste or creed be prejudiced in any way in regard to public employment, office of power or honour and the exercise of any trade or calling.
- (xiv) All citizens have an equal right of access to, and use of, public roads, public wells and all other places of public resort.

- (xv) Freedom of combination and association for the maintenance and improvement of labour and economic conditions is guaranteed to everyone and of all occupations. All agreements and measures tending to restrict or obstruct such freedom are illegal.
- (xvi) No breach of contract of service or abetment thereof shall be made a criminal offence.
- (xvii) Parliament shall make suitable laws for the maintenance of health and fitness for work of all citizens, securing of a living wage for every worker, the protection of motherhood, welfare of children, and the economic consequences of old age, infirmity and unemployment and *Parliament shall also make laws to ensure fair rent and fixity and permanence of tenure to agricultural tenants.*
- (xviii) Every citizen shall have the right to keep and bear arms in accordance with a regulations made in that behalf.
- (xix) Men and women shall have equal rights as citizens.
Note : Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in article (iv) the Sikhs are entitled to carry kripans.

Language.

- 4. A. (i) *The language of the Commonwealth shall be Hindustani which may be written either in Nagri or in Urdu character. The use of the English language shall be permitted.*
- (ii) *In provinces, the principal language of a province shall be the official language of that province. The use of Hindustani and English shall be permitted.*

Parliament.

5. The legislative power of the Commonwealth shall be vested in a Parliament which shall consist of the king, a Senate and a House of Representatives herein called the Parliament.

6. The Governor-General shall be appointed by the king and shall have, and may exercise in the Commonwealth, during the

King's pleasure, but subject to this constitution, such powers and functions of the King as His Majesty may assign to him.

7. (a) There shall be payable to the King out of the revenues of India for the salary of the Governor-General an annual sum which, until the Parliament of the Commonwealth otherwise provides, shall be as in the schedule hercof provided.

(b) The salary of a Governor-General shall not be altered during his continuance in office.

8. The Senate shall consist of 200 members to be elected by the Provincial Councils, a specific number of seats being allotted to each province on the basis of population, subject to a minimum. The election shall be held by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote. (The Hare system.)

9. The House of Representatives shall consist of 500 members to be elected by constituencies determined by law. Every person of either sex who has attained the age of 21, and is not disqualified by law, shall be entitled to vote.

Provided that Parliament shall have the power to increase the number of members from time to time if necessary.

10. (1) Every House of Representatives shall continue for five years from its first meeting and every Senate shall continue for seven years.

Provided that—

(a) either chamber of the legislature may be sooner dissolved by the Governor-General ; and

(b) any such period may be extended by the Governor-General if in special circumstances he so thinks fit ; and

(c) after the dissolution of either chamber the Governor-General shall appoint a date not more than six months after the date of dissolution for the next session of that chamber.

(2) *A session of the Parliament shall be held at least once a year*

- (3) The Governor-General may appoint such times and place for holding the sessions of either chamber of the Indian Legislature as he thinks fit, and may also from time to time, by notification or otherwise, prorogue such sessions.
- (4) Any meeting of either chamber of the Indian Legislature may be adjourned by the person presiding.
- (5) All questions in either chamber shall be determined by a majority of votes of members present, other than the presiding member who shall, however, have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes.
- (6) The powers of either chamber of the Indian Legislature may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy in the chamber.

11. There shall be a president of each House of Parliament who shall be a member of the House and shall be elected by the House. There shall also be a deputy president of each House who shall also be a member of the House and be similarly elected.

12. The privileges, immunities and powers to be held, enjoyed and exercised by the Senate and by the House of Representatives and by the members thereof respectively shall be such as are from time to time defined by Act of Parliament of the Commonwealth.

13. Parliament shall, subject to *and under* the provisions of this Constitution, have power to make laws.

- (a) for the peace, order and good government of the Commonwealth in relation to all matters not coming in the classes of subjects by this Act assigned to the legislatures of provinces ;
- (b) for the nationals and servants of the Commonwealth within other parts of India as well as those without and beyond India ;
- (c) for the government officers, soldiers, airmen and followers in His Majesty's Indian forces, wherever they are serving, in so far as they are not subject to the Army Act or the Air Force Act, and

- (d) for all persons employed or serving in or belonging to the Royal Indian Marine Service or the Indian Navy.

For greater certainty, but not so as to restrict the generality of the foregoing terms of this section, it is hereby declared that notwithstanding anything in this Act the legislative authority of the Parliament of the Commonwealth extends to all matters coming within the classes of subjects hereinafter enumerated and specified in Schedule I attached hereto.

13. A (a) *In cases of great emergency and in matters of controversies between provinces or a province and an Indian State the Central Government and the Parliament have all the powers necessary and ancillary including the power to suspend or annul the acts, executive and legislative, of a Provincial Government.*

(b). *The Supreme Court shall have no jurisdiction in cases where the Commonwealth Government or Parliament has acted in exercise of the powers under the preceding sub-clause.*

14. The powers of Parliament with respect to foreign affairs, not including the Indian States, shall be the same as exercised by the self-governing dominions.

15. Provision may be made by rules under this Act for regulating the course of business and the preservation of order in the chambers of the Indian Legislature, and as to the persons to preside at the meetings of the House of Representatives in the absence of the president and the deputy president; and the rules may provide for the number of members required to constitute a quorum, and for prohibiting or regulating the asking of questions on, and the discussion of, any subject specified in the rules.

16. (i) Any bill which appropriates revenue or monies for the ordinary annual services of the Commonwealth government shall deal only with such appropriations.

(ii) Bills imposing taxation shall deal only with the imposition of taxes, and any provision therein dealing with any other matter shall be of no effect.

- (iii) Bills affecting the public debt or for the appropriation of revenues or monies or for imposing taxation shall be introduced only by a member of the executive council and can only originate in the House of Representatives.

17. A money bill means a bill which contains only provisions dealing with all or any of the following subjects, namely the imposition, repeal, remission, alteration or regulation of taxation; the imposition, for the payment of debt or other financial purposes, of charges on public revenues or monies, or the variation or repeal of any such charges; the supply, appropriation, receipt, custody, issue or audit of accounts of public money; the raising of any loan or the repayment thereof; or subordinate matters incidental to those subjects or any of them. In this definition the expression "taxation," "public money" and "loan" respectively do not include any taxation, money or loan raised by local authorities or bodies for local purposes.

18. The question whether a bill is or is not a money bill will be decided by the president of the House of Representatives.

19. A money bill passed by the House of Representatives shall be sent to the Senate for its recommendations and it shall be returned not later than..... days therefrom to the House of Representatives, which may pass it, accepting or rejecting all or any of the recommendations of the Senate; and the bill so passed shall be deemed to have been passed by both chambers..

20. (i) Subject to the provisions of this Act, a bill may be initiated in either House of Parliament and, if passed by the originating House, shall be introduced in the other House for being passed.

(ii) Except as otherwise provided under this Act, a bill shall not be deemed to have been passed by Parliament unless it has been agreed to by both Houses, either without amendments or with such amendments only as may be agreed to by both Houses.

(iii) If any bill which has been passed by the House of Representatives is not, within six months after the passage of the bill by that House, passed by the Senate, either

without amendments or with such amendments as may be agreed to by both Houses, the Governor-General shall, on resolution passed by either House to that effect, refer the matter for decision to a joint sitting of both Houses. The members present at any such joint sitting may deliberate and shall vote together upon the bill as last proposed by the House of Representatives and upon amendments, if any, which have been made therein by one House of Parliament and not agreed to by the other; and any such amendments which are affirmed by a majority of the total number of members of the Senate and the House of Representatives present at such sitting, shall be taken to have been duly passed by both Houses of Parliament.

21. (i) So soon as any bill shall have been passed, or deemed to have been passed by both Houses, it shall be presented to the Governor-General for the signification by him, in the King's name, of the King's assent, and the Governor-General may signify such assent or withhold the same or he may reserve the bill for the signification of the King's pleasure.

- (ii) A bill passed by both Houses of Parliament shall not become an Act until the Governor-General signifies his assent thereto in the King's name, or in the case of a bill reserved for the signification of the King's pleasure, until he signifies by speech or message to each House of Parliament, or by proclamation that it has received the assent of the King in Council.

Provided that the Governor-General may, where a bill has been passed by both Houses of Parliament and presented to him for the signification by him of the King's assent, or has been reserved by him for the signification of the King's pleasure, return the bill for reconsideration by Parliament with a recommendation that Parliament shall consider amendments thereto.

- (iii) Any bill so returned shall be further considered by Parliament together with the amendments, recommended by the Governor-General, and if re-affirmed with or without amendments, may be again presented to the Governor-General for the signification in the King's name of the King's assent.

The Commonwealth Executive

22. The executive power of the Commonwealth is vested in the King and is exercisable by the Governor-General as the King's representative, acting on the advice of the Executive Council subject to the provisions of this Act and of the laws of the Commonwealth.

23. (a) There shall be an Executive Council consisting of the Prime Minister and, until Parliament otherwise provides, not more than six ministers of the Commonwealth.

(b) The Prime Minister shall be appointed by the Governor-General and the ministers shall also be appointed by him on the advice of the Prime Minister.

(c) The Executive Council shall be collectively responsible to the *House of Representatives* for all matters concerning the department of the Commonwealth administered by members of the Executive Council and generally for all advice tendered by it to the Governor-General.

24. Until Parliament otherwise provides, the appointment and removal of all other officers of the executive government of the Commonwealth shall be vested in the Governor-General-in-Council, unless the appointment is delegated by the Governor-General-in-Council, or by a law of the Commonwealth, to some other authority.

25. The Command-in-chief of the military, naval and air forces of the Commonwealth is vested in the Governor-General as the King's representative.

High Commissioner and Foreign Representatives

26. The Commonwealth shall have the power to appoint High Commissioners and other foreign representatives similar to that exercised by Canada and other dominions. Such appointments shall

be made by the Governor-General in Council who shall also make provision by rules for their pay, powers and duties, and the conditions of employment.

Financial control

27. (1) The Auditor-General in India shall be appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council who shall by rules make provision for his pay, powers and duties, and the conditions of employment, and for the discharge of his duties in the case of a temporary vacancy of absence from duty.
- (2) Subject to any rules made by the Governor-General-in-Council, no office may be added to or withdrawn from the public service and the emoluments of no posts may be varied except after consultation with such finance authority as may be designated in the rules, being an authority of the province or of the Commonwealth according as it is or is not under the control of a local government.

The Provincial Legislature

28. The legislative power of a province shall be vested in the King and the local Legislative Council.

29. There shall be a Governor of every province who shall be appointed by the *Governor-General-in-Council*.

30. *The salaries of the Governors shall be fixed and provided by Parliament, and until so provided, shall be as in schedule.*

31. (i) There shall be one member of the Provincial Legislative Council for every 100,000 of the population of the said province provided that in provinces with a population of less than ten millions there may be a maximum of 100 members.

(ii) Every member shall be elected by a constituency determined by law. Every person of either sex who has attained the age of 21 and is not disqualified by law shall be entitled to vote.

32. (i) Every Provincial Council shall continue for 5 years from its first sitting provided that—

(a) it may be sooner dissolved by the Governor ;

(b) the term of 5 years may be extended by the Governor if in special circumstances he so thinks fit ;

(c) after the dissolution of the Council the Governor shall appoint a date not more than 6 months after the date of the dissolution, for the next session of the Council.

(ii) The Governor may appoint such times and places for holding the sessions of the Council as he thinks fit and may also from time to time, by notification or otherwise, prorogue such sessions.

(iii) Any meeting of the Council may be adjourned by the person presiding.

(iv) All questions in the Council shall be determined by the majority of votes of the members present, other than the presiding member, who shall however have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes.

(v) The powers of the Council may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy.

(vi) *A session of the Council is held at least once a year.*

33. There shall be a president of every Council who shall be a member of the House and shall be elected by the House. There shall also be a deputy president who shall also be a member of the House and be similarly elected.

34. The local legislature of any province has power, subject to the provisions of this Act, to make laws for the peace and good government of the territories for the time being constituting that province. The legislative authority of every provincial council extends to all matters coming within the classes of subjects hereinafter enumerated and specified in Schedule II, attached hereto.

35. The local legislature of any province may repeal or alter, as to that province, any law relating to a provincial subject made before the commencement of this Act by any authority in British India.

36. Any measure affecting the public revenues of a province, or imposing any charge on the revenue, shall be introduced only by a member of the executive council of the Governor.

37. When a bill has been passed by a local Legislative Council, the Governor may declare that he assents to or withholds his assent from the bill.

38. If the Governor withholds his assent from any such bill, the bill shall not become an Act.

39. If the Governor assents to any such bill, he shall forthwith send an authentic copy of the Act to the Governor-General, and the Act shall not have validity until the Governor-General has assented thereto and that assent has been signified by the Governor-General to, and published by the Governor.

40. Where the Governor-General withholds his assent from any such Act, he shall signify to the Governor in writing his reason for so withholding his assent.

41. When an act has been assented to by the Governor-General it shall be lawful for His Majesty in Council to signify his disallowance of the Act.

42. Where the disallowance of an Act has been so signified, the Governor shall forthwith notify the disallowance, and thereupon the Act, as from the date of the notification shall become void accordingly.

The Provincial Executive

43. The executive power of the province shall be vested in the Governor acting on the advice of the provincial Executive Council.

44. There shall be an Executive Council for every province consisting of not more than five ministers appointed by the Governor.

45. In appointing the executive Council the Governor shall select the Chief Minister and appoint others only on his advice.

The Judiciary

46. There shall be a Supreme Court which shall exercise such jurisdiction as Parliament shall determine. The Supreme Court shall

consist of a Lord President, and as many other Justices, as Parliament may fix.

47. The Lord President of the Commonwealth and all other Judges of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth to be appointed after the establishment of the Commonwealth shall be appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council, and shall receive such remuneration as Parliament shall prescribe, and their remuneration shall not be *altered* during their continuance in office.

48. The Lord President of the Commonwealth and other Judges of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth shall not be removed from office except by the Governor-General-in-Council on an address from both Houses of Parliament in the same session praying for such removal on the ground of misbehaviour or incapacity.

49. The Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction in all matters—

- (i) referred to the Supreme Court by the Governor-General-in-Council under section 85 ;
- (ii) in which the Commonwealth, or person suing or being sued on behalf of the Commonwealth, is a party ;
- (iii) affecting consuls or other representatives of other countries ;
- (iv) between provinces ;
- (v) arising under this Constitution or involving its interpretation.

50. The Supreme Court shall have jurisdiction, with such exceptions and subject to such regulations as Parliament prescribes, to hear and determine appeals from all judgments, decrees, orders and sentences—

- (a) of any Justice or Justices exercising the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court ;
- (b) of the high court, or of any other court from which at the establishment of the Commonwealth an appeal lies to the King in Council.

51. The judgment of the Supreme Court in all such cases shall be final and conclusive and shall not be reviewed, or be capable of being reviewed by any other court, tribunal or authority whatsoever.

Appeals to the King in Council

52. (i) No appeal shall be permitted to the King in Council from a decision of the Supreme Court upon any question howsoever arising, as to the limits *inter se* of the constitutional powers of the Commonwealth and those of any province or provinces, or as to the limits *inter se* of the constitutional powers of any two or more provinces, unless the Supreme Court shall certify that the question is one which ought to be determined by the King in Council.
- (ii) The Supreme Court may so certify if satisfied that for any special reason the certificates should be granted, and there after an appeal shall lie to the King in Council on the question without further leave.
- (iii) Parliament may make laws limiting the matters in which such leave may be asked, provided that such laws do not impair any right which the King may be pleased to exercise by virtue of his royal prerogative to grant special leave of appeal from the Supreme Court to the King in Council.

High Courts—Constitution

53. The high courts referred to in this Act are the high courts of judicature for the time being established in British India.

54. Each high court shall consist of a chief justice and as many other judges as the Governor-General-in-Council may think fit to appoint. Provided as follows :

- (i) The Governor-General-in-Council may appoint persons to act as additional judges of any high court, for such period, not exceeding two years, as may be required and the judges so appointed shall, while so acting, have all the powers of a judge of the high court appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council ;
- (ii) the maximum number of judges of a high court including the chief justice and additional judges shall be 20.

55. A judge of a high court must be an advocate on the rolls of a high court of not less than ten years' standing, provided that nothing herein contained shall affect the continuance of the tenure of office of the judges who may be holding appointments at the commencement of this Act.

56. (i) Every judge of a high court shall hold office during his good behaviour.

(ii) Any such judge may resign his office to the local government.

57. The chief justice and other judges of the high court shall not be removed from office except by the Governor-General-in-Council on an address from both the Houses of Parliament in the same session, *praying for such removal on the ground of misbehaviour or incapacity.*

58. (i) The Governor-General-in-Council may fix the salaries, allowances, furloughs and retiring pensions, and may alter them, but any such alteration shall not affect the salary of any judge appointed before the date thereof.

(ii) The remuneration fixed for a judge under this section shall commence upon his taking upon himself the execution of his office.

59. (i) On the occurrence of a vacancy in the office of chief justice of a high court, and during any absence of such a chief justice, the local Government shall appoint one of the other judges of the same high court to perform the duties of chief justice of the court, until some person has been appointed by the Governor General to the office of chief justice of the court, and has entered on the discharge of his duties of that office, or until the chief justice has returned from his absence, as the case requires.

(ii) On the occurrence of a vacancy in the office of any other judge of a high court, and during any absence of any such judge, or on the appointment of any such judge to act as chief justice, the local government may appoint a person with such qualifications as are required in persons to be appointed to the high court; and the person so appointed

may sit and perform the duties of a judge of the court, until some person has been appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council to the office of judge of the court and has entered on the discharge of the duties of the office, or until the absent judge has returned from his absence, or until the local government sees cause to cancel the appointment of the acting judge.

60. (i) The several high courts are courts of record and have such jurisdiction, original and appellate, including admiralty jurisdiction in respect of offences committed on the high seas, and all such powers and authority over or in relation to the administration of justice, including power to appoint clerks and other ministerial officers of the court, and power to make rules for regulating the practice of the court, as are vested in them by letters patent, and subject to the provisions of any such letters patent, all such jurisdiction, powers and authority as are powers vested in those courts respectively commencement of this Act.

- (ii) The letters patent establishing, or vesting jurisdiction, power, or authority, in a high court may be amended from time to time by a further letters patent.

61. Each of the high courts has superintendence over all courts for the time being subject to its appellate jurisdiction, and may do any of the following things, that is to say—

- (a) call for returns ;
- (b) direct the transfer of any suit or appeal from any such court to any other court of equal or superior jurisdiction ;
- (c) make and issue general rules and prescribe forms for regulating the practice and proceedings of such courts ;
- (d) prescribe forms in which books, entries and accounts shall be kept by the officers of any such courts ; and
- (e) settle tables of fees to be allowed to the sheriff, attorneys, and all clerks and officers of courts ;

Provided that such rules forms and tables shall not be inconsistent with the provisions of any law for the time being in force, and shall require the previous approval of the local government.

62. (a) Each high court may by its own rules, provide as it thinks fit for the exercise, by one or more judges of the high court, of the original and appellate jurisdiction vested in the court.

The chief justice of each high court shall determine what judge in each case is to sit alone, and what judges of the court, whether with or without the chief judge, are to constitute the several division courts.

63. The Governor-General-in-Council may, by order, transfer any territory or place from the jurisdiction of one to the jurisdiction of any other of the high courts, and authorise any high court to exercise all or any portion of its jurisdiction in any part of British India not included within the limits for which the high court was established, and also to exercise any such jurisdiction in respect of any British subject for the time being within any part of India outside the Commonwealth.

64. (a) The Governor-General, each Governor, each of the members of the Executive Council, whether in the Commonwealth or in the provinces, shall not be subject to the original, appellate or revisional jurisdiction of any high court, by reason of anything counselled, ordered or done by any of them, in his public capacity only.

(b) The exemption shall extend also to the chief justices and other judges of the several high courts.

65. The Governor-General-in-Council may, if he sees fit, by letters patent, establish a high court of judicature in any territory in the Commonwealth, whether or not included within the limits of the local jurisdiction of another high court, and confer on any high court so established, any such jurisdiction, powers and authority as are vested in, or may be conferred on, any high court existing at the commencement of this Act; and, where a high court is so established in any area included within the limits of the local jurisdiction of another high court, the Governor-General may, by letters patent, alter those limits, and make such incidental, consequential and supple-

mental provisions as may appear to be necessary by reason of the alteration.

Advocate General.

66. The local government may appoint an advocate general for each of the provinces and may, on the occurrence of a vacancy in the office of advocate general, or during any absence or deputation of an advocate general, appoint a person to act as advocate general ; and the person so appointed may exercise the powers of an advocate general until some person has been appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council and has entered on the discharge of his duties or until the advocate general has returned from his absence or deputation, as the case may be, or until the local government cancels the local appointment.

Property, Revenue and Finance

67. All property vested in or arising or accruing from property or rights vested in, His Majesty or the Secretary of State in Council under the Government of India Acts, 1858, 1915 and 1919 shall vest in the Governor-General-in-Council.

68. The revenues of India shall vest in the Governor-General-in-Council and shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, be applied for the purposes of the Commonwealth alone.

69. The expression "the revenues of India" in this Act shall include all the territorial and other revenues of or arising in British India, and in particular,—

- (i) all tributes and other payments in respect of any territories which would have been receivable by or in the name of the East India Company if the Government of India Act, 1858, had not been passed ; and
- (ii) all fines and penalties incurred by the sentence or order of any court of justice in British India, and all forfeitures for crimes of any movable or immovable property in British India ; and
- (iii) all movable or immovable property in British India escheating or lapsing for want of an heir or successor and

all property in British India devolving as *bona vacantia* for want of a rightful owner.

70. Parliament shall establish a Railway and Harbour Fund into which shall be paid all revenues raised or received by the Governor-General-in-Council from the administration of railways, post and harbours, and such fund shall be appropriated by Parliament to the purpose of railways, posts and harbours, on such conditions and in such manner as it may prescribe. There shall also be formed a consolidated revenue fund into which shall be paid all other revenues raised or received by the Governor-General-in-Council and such fund shall be appropriated by Parliament for the purpose of the Commonwealth in the manner prescribed by this Act or by rules made in that behalf and subject to the charges imposed thereby.

71. There shall be charged on the revenues of India alone—

- (a) all the debts of the East India Company ; and
- (b) all sums of money, costs, charges and expenses which, if the Government of India Act, 1858, the Government of India Act, 1915, as amended by the Government of India Act, 1919 or this Act had not been passed, would have been paid by the East India Company out of the revenues of India in respect of any treaties, covenants, contracts, grants or liabilities existing at the commencement of this Act ; and
- (c) all expenses, debts and liabilities lawfully contracted and incurred on account of the Government of India ; and
- (d) all other charges and payments under this Act (except so far as is otherwise provided under this Act).

72. (i) As soon as may be after the establishment of the Commonwealth the Governor-General-in-Council shall appoint a Commission consisting of one representative from each province and...representatives of the government of the Commonwealth, and presided over by an officer of the Commonwealth, to institute an enquiry into (a) the sources of revenue which may be assigned to the govern-

ment of the Commonwealth and to the governments of the provinces respectively with due regard to the efficient administration and development of the services or subjects under the respective control of either, and (b) the financial relations which should exist between the governments of the Commonwealth and the governments of the provinces, and (c) for the means to be adopted for giving effect to such relations.

- (ii) The said Commission shall appoint a committee to examine the whole question of the training of officers for the land, naval and air forces of the Commonwealth and the establishment of the requisite number of schools and colleges for military instruction.
- (iii) The committee so appointed shall report to the Commission about the requisite number of such schools and colleges and their staffs the places where they are to be established, and the standard of instruction to be imparted in each, and an estimate of the initial and maintenance cost of the said schools and colleges.
- (iv) The said Commission shall also appoint a committee to investigate and report on the steps to be taken for the introduction of general primary education in the Commonwealth and the affording of special educational facilities for backward classes.
- (v) The said Commission shall have the power to appoint such other committees as it may consider necessary, for the purposes of its inquiry.
- (vi) *The said Commission shall, in conformity with the principles of this Constitution and with the assistance of such Committee or committees as it may consider desirable to appoint :*
 - (a) *take all necessary steps to constitute Karnataka and Andhra into separate provinces ;*
 - (b) *take steps to amalgamate the Oriya speaking tracts in the different provinces and constitute this amalgamated area*

into a separate province if the people of that area are able or are prepared to bear the financial burden which is incidental to separation ;

- (c) *report on the cases of C. P. Hindustani, Kerala and any other linguistic areas which may desire to be constituted into separate provinces ;*
- (d) *re-settle the boundaries of Assam and Bengal, Behar and Orissa and C. P. Hindustani, Kerala and Karnataka in accordance with the principles recommended by the Committee.*
- (vi) The said Commission shall report to the Governor-General-in-Council on matters recommended in clause (i), and shall make special recommendations fixing minimum charges on the revenues of the Commonwealth and the provinces for the purposes mentioned in (ii), (iii) and (iv).

73. The Governor-General-in-Council shall lay the entire report of the Commission together with his recommendations before Parliament for such legislative or other action as it may deem fit.

74. Pending the completion of the said enquiry, and until Parliament has taken action under clause 68, the existing sources of revenue and the financial relations shall continue to be in force.

Defence

- 75. (a) The Governor-General-in-Council shall appoint a Committee of Defence consisting of (1) the Prime Minister, (2) the Minister of Defence, (3) the Minister of Foreign Affairs, (4) the Commander-in-Chief, (5) the Commander of the Air Forces, (6) the Commander of the Naval Forces, (7) the Chief of the General Staff, and two other experts.
- (b) The Prime Minister shall be the chairman of the committee ; and there shall be a permanent staff including a secretary attached to this committee.
- (c) The functions of this committee shall be to advise the government and the various departments concerned with questions of defence and upon general questions of policy.

- (d) As soon as the committee is appointed the Governor-General-in-Council may take the advice of the Committee of Defence as to the practicability and means of effecting a retrenchment in the expenditure on defence compatibly with the safety of India. The estimates shall be framed according to the recommendations of the committee.

76. The proposals of the Governor-General-in-Council for the appropriation of revenues or monies classified as "Defence", shall be submitted to the vote of the House of Representatives.

77. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the foregoing provisions, the Governor-General-in-Council may, in the event of any foreign aggression on India by land, air or sea, or upon his being satisfied that there is a reasonable apprehension of such aggression, authorise such expenditure as may be necessary for the safety of British India or any part thereof. Such action taken by the Governor-General shall be reported by him immediately to the Legislature, if in session, or if the Legislature in session, or if the Legislature is not in session, to a special session to be summoned as soon as possible thereafter.

78. No measure affecting the discipline or maintenance of any part of the military, naval and air forces of the Commonwealth, shall be introduced in Parliament except on the recommendation of the Committee of Defence appointed under this constitution.

The Civil Services

79. Subject to the provisions of the next succeeding section, all officers of the public services shall, at the establishment of the Commonwealth, become officers of the Commonwealth.

80. As soon as possible after the establishment of the Commonwealth, the Governor-General-in-Council shall appoint a Public Service Commission to make recommendations for such reorganisation and re-adjustment of the departments of the public services as may be necessary.

81. Parliament may make laws for regulating the classification of the civil services in India, the sources and methods of their recruitment, the conditions of service, pay and allowances, and discipline and con-

duct. Parliament may also, to such extent and in respect of such matters as it may prescribe, delegate the power of making rules under the said laws to the Governor-General-in-Council or to local governments.

82. (i) After the establishment of the Commonwealth the Governor-General-in-Council shall appoint a Permanent Public Service Commission with such powers and duties relating to the recruitment, appointment, discipline, retirement and superannuation of public officers as Parliament shall determine.

(ii) Members of the permanent Public Service Commission shall hold office for five years from the date of appointment.

83. Any officer of the public services who desires to retire within three years of the establishment of the Commonwealth, or is not retained in the service of the Commonwealth, shall be entitled to receive such pension, gratuity or other compensation as he would have received in like circumstances if the Commonwealth had not been established.

The Army Services

84. All officers, British and Indians, serving in the army, the navy, the Royal Indian Marine, or the Air Force of India, serving in India at the commencement of the new constitution, shall retain all their existing rights as to salaries, allowances or pensions or shall receive such compensation for the loss of any of them, as the Governor-General-in-Council may consider just and equitable, or as they would have received in like circumstances if the Commonwealth had not been established.

Further all such officers, British or Indian, who were in receipt of pensions at the date of the commencement of the new constitution, shall continue to receive the same pension from the revenues of India.

Indian States

85. The Commonwealth shall exercise the same rights in relation to, and discharge the same obligations towards, the Indian States,

arising out of treaties or otherwise, as the Government of India has hitherto exercised and discharged.

In case of any difference between the Commonwealth and any Indian State on any matter arising out of treaties, engagements, sanads or *any* other documents, the Governor-General-in-Council may, with the consent of the State concerned, refer the said matter to the Supreme Court for its decision.

New Provinces

86. The re-distribution of provinces should take place on a linguistic basis on the demand of the majority of the population of the area concerned, subject to financial and administrative considerations.

Amendment of the Constitution

87. Parliament may, by law, repeal or alter any of the provisions of the constitution. Provided that the bill embodying such repeal or alteration shall be passed by both Houses of Parliament sitting together and at the third reading shall be agreed to by not less than *four-fifths of those present*. A bill so passed at such a joint sitting shall be taken to have been duly passed by both Houses of Parliament.

Note :—The following are the recommendations on communal and other controversial matters.

Communal representation

I. There shall be joint mixed electorates throughout India for the House of Representatives and the provincial legislatures.

II. There shall be no reservation of seats for the House of Representatives except for Muslims in provinces where they are in a minority and non-Muslims in the N. W. F. Province. Such reservation will be in strict proportion to the Muslim population to the non-Muslim population in N. W. F. Province, the Muslims or non-Muslims where reservation is allowed to them shall have the right to contest additional seats.

III. In the provinces

(a) there shall be no reservation of seats for any community in the Punjab and Bengal *provided that the question of com-*

munal representation will be open for reconsideration if so desired by any community after working the recommended system for 10 years.

- (b) in provinces other than the Punjab and Bengal there will be reservations of seats for Muslim minorities on population basis with the right to contest additional seats ;
- (c) in the N. W. F. Province there shall be similar reservation of seats for non-Muslims with the right to contest other seats.

IV. Reservation of seats, where allowed, shall be for a fixed period of ten years. *Provided that the question will be open for reconsideration after the expiration of that period if so desired by any community.*

Redistribution and status of provinces

V. *Simultaneously with the establishment of Government under this constitution Sind shall be separated from Bombay and constituted into a separate province.*

Provided

- (1) *after an enquiry it is found*
 - (a) *that Sind is financially self-supporting, or*
 - (b) *in the event of its being found that it is not financially self-supporting, on the scheme of separation being laid before the people of Sind with its financial and administrative aspects, the majority of the inhabitants favour the scheme and express their readiness to bear the financial responsibility of the new arrangement ;*
- (2) *that the form of Government in Sind shall be the same as in the other provinces under the constitution ;*
- (3) *that the non-Muslim minority in Sind shall be given the same privileges in the matter of representation in the Provincial and Central Legislatures as the Muslim minorities are given under this constitution in areas where they are in a minority.*

VI. The N. W. F. Province, *Baluchistan*, and all newly formed provinces by separation from other provinces, shall have the same form of government as the other provinces in India.

SCHEDULE I

CENTRAL SUBJECTS

1. Trade and commerce with other countries and in India and the incorporation of trading, financial or foreign corporations in India.

2. Taxation, excluding the taxation assigned under this constitution to the provinces or parts of them ; but including customs, revenue, excise, income-tax, super-tax, corporation profits tax, opium, including control of its cultivation, manufacture, and sale, export duties.

3. Bounties on the production or export of goods.

4. Borrowing money on the credit, the assets and the property of the Commonwealth ; the public debt of the Government of the Commonwealth.

5. Currency, coinage and legal tender.

6. Banking and insurance and savings banks ; the incorporation of banks and the issue of paper money and stock exchanges.

7. Bills of exchange, cheques, *hundies* and promissory notes.

8. Shipping and navigation, including shipping and navigation on such inland waterways as may be declared to be of national importance ; harbours, major ports, lighthouses, beacons, lightships, buoys.

9. Railways, and roads of all India and military importance.

10. Aircraft and all matters connected therewith.

11. Posts, telegraphs and telephones including wireless communications and installations.

12. The defence of India and all matters connected with the naval, military and air forces of the Commonwealth, including militia. Indian Marine Service and any other force raised in India other than military and armed police wholly maintained by the provincial government ; naval and military works and cantonments ; schools and colleges for military, naval and air training.

13. Foreign and external relations including relations with States in India and political charges ; domicile, naturalisation and aliens ; passports ; and pilgrimages beyond India.

14. Emigration and Immigration.

15. Post quarantine and marine hospitals.

16. The Commonwealth Public Services and the Commonwealth Public Service Commission.

17. The Audit department of the Commonwealth.

18. The Supreme Court of India, and legislation relating to High Courts.

19. Civil Law including laws regarding status, contract, property, civil rights and liabilities and civil procedure.

20. Criminal Law including criminal Procedure and extradition Laws.

21. Bankruptcy and insolvency,

22. Legislation regarding marriage divorce and matrimonial matters, parental rights, the custody and guardianship of infants : their status and age of majority.

23. Copyright ; newspaper and books ; patents of inventions and designs and trade marks.

24. Land acquisition by or for the purposes of the Government of the Commonwealth.

25. Laws relating to registration of deeds and documents.

26. Laws relating to registration of birth, death and marriages.

27. Census and statistics.

28. *Laws relating to the Control of arms and ammunition.*

29. (a) *Laws relating to the Control of petroleum and explosives.*

(b) *Laws relating to the Control of poisons.*

30. The standards of weights and measures.

31. Fisheries in Indian waters beyond the three miles limit.

32. Survey of India ; geological survey and astronomical and meteorological observations.

33. Parliamentary elections.

34. The seat of the Government of the Commonwealth.

35. Inter-provincial matters.
 36. Factory legislation.
 37. Industrial matters :
 - (a) *Laws relating to the welfare of labour.*
 - (b) *Laws relating to the Provident fund.*
 - (c) *Laws relating to Industrial Insurance—General health and accident.*
 38. *Laws relating to Control of mines.*
 39. Medical qualifications and standards.
 40. Stores and stationery for the Commonwealth.
 41. Central publicity and intelligence department.
 42. Zoological survey ; botanical survey ; archæology.
 43. Central agencies and institutions for research (including observatories) and for professional and technical training or promotion of special studies.
 44. Territorial changes, other than intra-provincial, and declaration of laws in connection therewith.
 45. All property of the Commonwealth.
 46. Legislation regarding forests.
 47. Legislation relating to non-judicial stamps.
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SCHEDULE II

PROVINCIAL SUBJECTS

1. Land revenue including assigned land revenue; any other tax that may be imposed on land or agricultural income; charges for water survey and settlement; disposal and colonisation of public land and management of government estates.

2. Excise, that is to say the control of manufacture, transport, possession, purchase and sale of alcoholic liquor and intoxicating drugs (except opium), and the levying of excise duties and license fees on, or in relation to, such articles and other restrictive excises.

3. All local taxation, such as tolls; cesses on land or land values; tax on building; tax on vehicles or boats; tax on animals; octroi and a terminal tax on goods imported into or exported from a local area; tax on trades, professions and callings; tax on private markets; tax on advertisements; tax on amusements or entertainments; tax on gambling; taxes imposed in return for services rendered by the local authority.

4. Land acquisition by and within the province.

5. Administration of forests and preservation of game.

6. Agriculture, including research institutes, experimental and demonstration farms, protection against destruction by insects and pests.

7. Fisheries, excluding Commonwealth fisheries.

8. Water supplies, irrigation canals, drainage and embankment, water storage and water power except where they involve a matter of inter-provincial concern or affect the relations of a province with an Indian state or any other territory.

9. Public works and undertakings, within the province including buildings, roads, bridges, ferries, tunnels, ropeways, causeways, tramways light and feeder railways; inland waterways and other means of communications except;

- (a) such railways, roads and inland waterways as are central subjects.
 - (b) all such works as extend beyond the borders of province.
 - (c) such works (although wholly situate within the province) as may be declared by parliament to be of all India importance.
10. Co-operative societies.
 11. Development of mineral resources.
 12. Famine relief.
 13. Pilgrimages within India.
 14. Local self-government including constitution and powers of Municipal Corporations, Local Boards, Village Panchayats, Improvement Trusts, Town Planning Boards and other local authorities in the province, and local fund audit.
 15. Medical administration including hospitals, dispensaries, asylums, and provision for medical education.
 16. Public health and sanitation and vital statistics.
 17. Education, including universities and technical institutes, provincial institutions for professional or technical training and for promotion of technical studies.
 18. Court of Wards and encumbered and attached estates.
 19. Land improvement and agricultural loans.
 20. Land tenures and landlord and tenant, rent law.
 21. Administrator-General and Official Trustees subject to legislation by central legislature.
 22. Development of industries, including industrial research.
 23. Police, including military and armed police maintained by the province and Railway Police, subject in the case of Railway Police to such rules as may be prescribed by Parliament as to limits of jurisdiction and railway contribution to cost of maintenance.
 24. Adulteration of foodstuffs and other articles.
 25. (a) Control of vehicles, subject in the case of motor vehicles to legislation by the central legislature as regards licenses valid throughout India.

- (b) Control of dramatic performances and cinematographs.
- 26. Prisons, prisoners and reformatories and vagrancy.
- 27. Backward tribes and their settlements.
- 28. Treasure trove.
- 29. Administration of justice in the province including the constitution, maintenance and organisation of courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction.
- 30. Election for the legislature of the province.
- 31. Legislation imposing punishments by fine, penalty or imprisonment for breach of any law of the province in relation to any provincial matter.
- 32. The borrowing of money on the sale credit of the province, subject to sanction of central government ; assets and property of the province.
- 33. Administration of the law relating to the registration of births, deaths and marriages.
- 34. Provincial law reports.
- 35. Minor ports.
- 36. Public libraries, except the Imperial Library at Calcutta museums except the Indian Museum, the Imperial War Museum; and the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta ; zoological and botanical gardens and registration of societies.
- 37. Pounds and prevention of cattle trespass.
- 38. Civil Veterinary Department, including provisions for veterinary training, improvement of stock and prevention of animal diseases.
- 39. Factories, subject to legislation by central legislature.
- 40. Settlement of labour disputes.
- 41. Gas and electricity.
- 42. Boilers.
- 43. Smoke nuisances.
- 44. Housing of labour.
- 45. Coroners.
- 46. Provincial stores and stationery.

47. Provincial government press.
 48. Provincial services and Provincial Services Commission.
 49. The seat of the provincial government.
 50. Control of elections subject to regulation by central government.
 51. Fees, including court fees ; probate duties ; succession or estate duties.
 52. Control of production, supply and distribution, subject to rules made by the central legislature.
 53. Development of industries, subject to rules made by central legislature.
 54. Religious and charitable endowments, subject to legislation by central legislature.
 55. Regulation of betting and gambling, subject to legislation by the central legislature.
 56. Prevention of cruelty to animals and protection of wild birds and animals, subject to legislation by the central legislature.
 57. Non-judicial stamps, subject to legislation by the central legislature ; and judicial stamps, subject to legislation by the central legislature as regards amount of court-fees levied in relation to suits and proceedings in the high courts under their original jurisdiction.
 58. Registration of deeds and documents, subject to legislation by the central legislature.
 59. Weights and measures, subject to legislation by the central legislature as regards standards.
 60. Control of poisons ; arms and ammunition ; petroleum and explosives, subject to legislation by the central legislature.
 61. Control of newspapers, subject to legislation by the central legislature.
 62. Regulation of medical and other professional qualification and standards, subject to legislation by the central legislature.
 63. Local Fund Audit.
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